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ABSTRACT

In 1978, the U.S. Congress established the Pinelands National Reserve on a million-acre landscape of New Jersey woodlands, farms, marshes, suburbs, towns, rivers, and bays. The reserve was to protect not only the region's great natural beauty and scientific value, but also the cultural life of its people, which is largely undocumented. In 1983, the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress inaugurated the Pinelands Folklife Project, a field survey that documented on audio tape and film hundreds of residents of the area, capturing images of their lives in songs, stories, recipes, poems, crafts, festivals, recreation, tools, and technologies. Like natural resources, such expressions warrant consideration from planners, but their intangible aspects pose a special challenge. This document refutes the popular image of the region as a wilderness sparsely populated with quaint, backwoods people, presenting instead a place rich in cultural and environmental diversity and describing how residents convey their sense of place through myriad cultural expressions, which planners can factor into their land-use decisions. The concluding chapter on cultural conservation makes specific recommendations for protecting the region's cultural heritage. Dozens of illustrations, including black and white photographs, line drawings, and charts and maps from the Pinelands Folklife Project Archive complement the description and analysis. Appendices provide information on the logistics of the survey and a checklist for development review for municipal planning boards. (JB)

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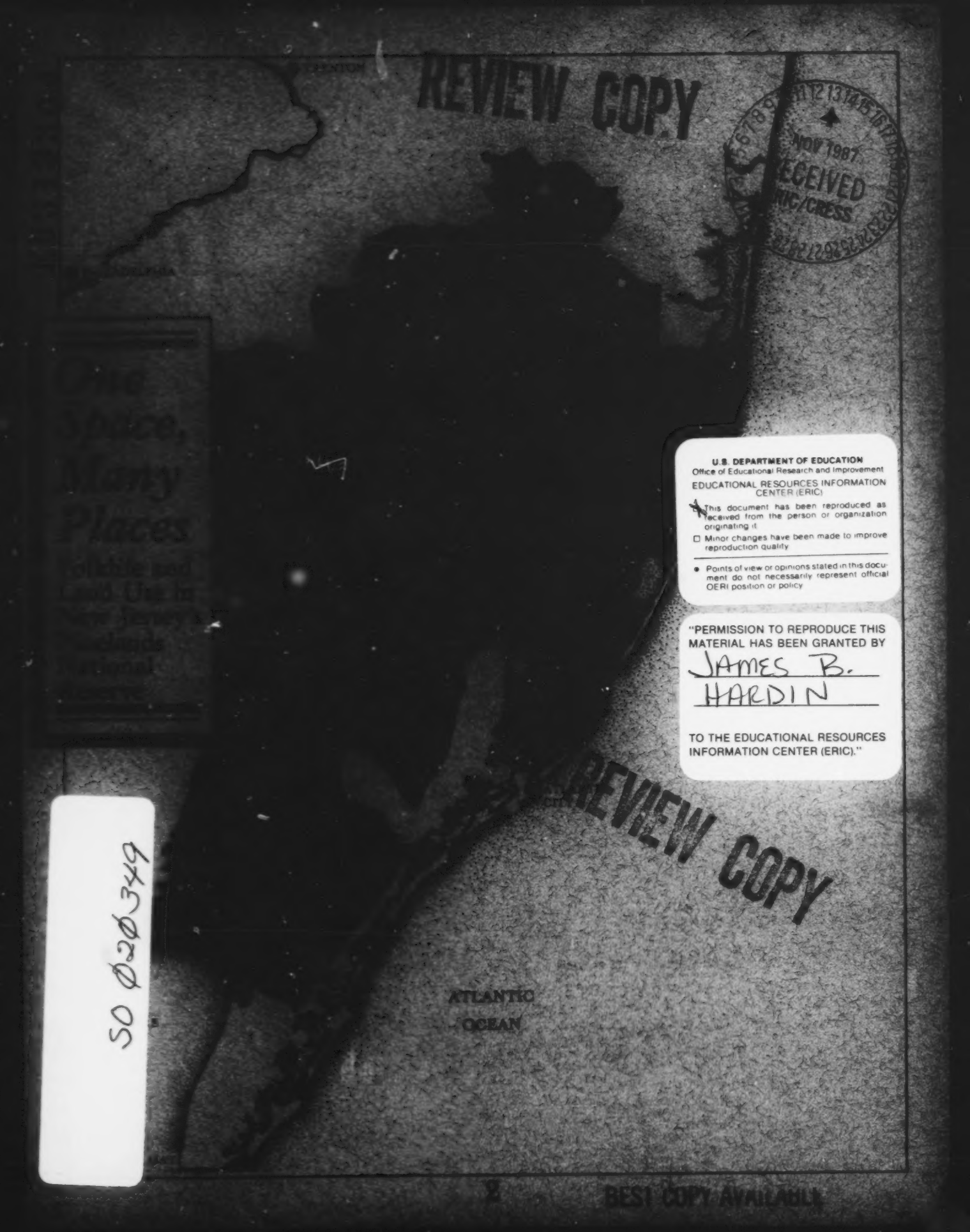

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ONE SPACE, MANY PLACES

Folklife and Land Use in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve
Report and Recommendations to the New Jersey Pinelands Commission
for Cultural Conservation in the Pinelands National Reserve

By Mary Hufford

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A colonnade of transplanted birch trees, reminiscent of those found in Eastern Europe, prefaces a Russian home in Cassville. (Photograph by Mary Hufford. 83BMH217992-27-26.)

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Portions of this report were developed for articles in *Folklife Center News* and *Folklife Annual 85*. They benefited greatly from careful editing by Center Director Alan Jabbour and writer/editor Brett Topping. The manuscript also was improved through readings by James Hardin of the Library's Publishing Office and Tom Jones, preservation planner for Easton, Pennsylvania.

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There were many others whose contributions we gratefully acknowledge. The strengths of the project belong to them, its shortcomings to us. We hope that this great body of material they have co-authored will help them continue to compose the Pinelands National Reserve and its many special places.

Pilings at Reed's Beach on Delaware Bay. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21772I-04-36.)

ABBREVIATIONS

The photographs and excerpts from taped interviews that appear in the body of this report were taken from the Pinelands Folklife Project collection, housed at the Archive of Folk Culture at the Library of Congress. The accession numbers that appear with the quotations and illustrations may be interpreted as follows.

The first two digits represent the year:

83 = 1983
84 = 1984
85 = 1985 The next letter represents the archived item:

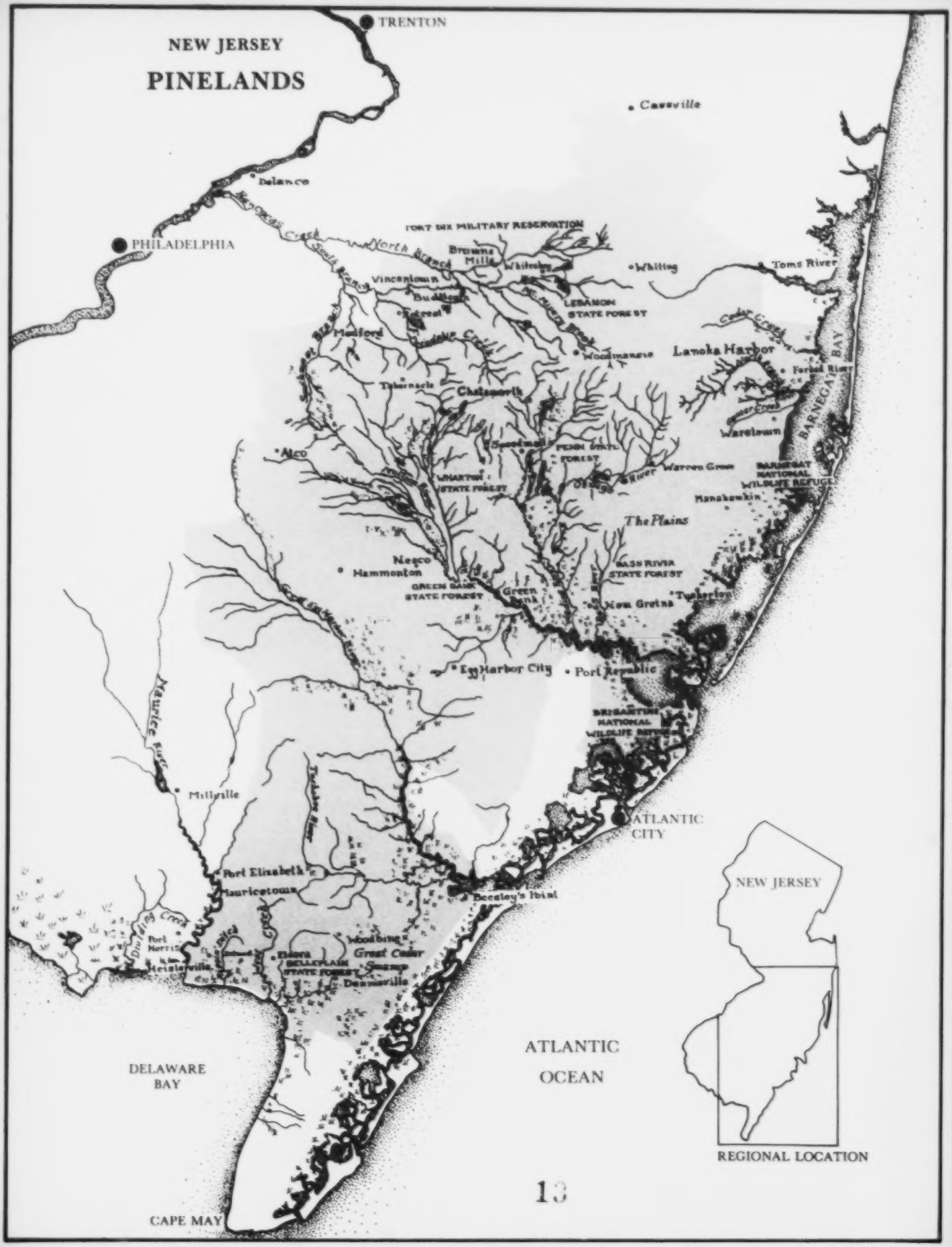
A = audiocassette tape
B = black-and-white photo
C = color slide
F = field notes
R = reel-to-reel recording

The following two letters are the initials of the fieldworker or photographer:

BB = Bonnie Blair
CC = Christine Cartwright
CF = Carl Fleischhauer
EH = Eugene Hunn
RM = Rita Moonsammy
JO = Jay Orr
NR = Nora Rubinstein
ET = Elaine Thatcher
TC = Tom Carroll
JC = Joseph Czarnecki
MH = Mary Hufford
DM = Dennis McDonald
MO = Malachi O'Connor
GP = Gerald Parsons
SS = Sue Samuelson

The digits following the initials represent the item number. For field notes the item number is the same as the date on which the field notes were made. Thus 83FET0927 represents field notes recorded by Elaine Thatcher on September 27, 1983. For sound-recording logs the number represents the position of the sound recording in a sequence of sound recordings. Thus 83RSS003 represents the third reel-to-reel recording made by Sue Samuelson in 1983, and 83ASS003 represents the third audiocassette recording made by her in 1983. The same principle applies to color slides, with the last number broken down to represent both the sheet and the specific image on the sheet. Thus 85CDM021-03 represents the third image on the twenty-first sheet of color slides produced by Dennis McDonald in 1985. Black-and-white photographs are arranged sequentially according to numbers assigned to them by the photo labs. BJC217721-04-36 indicates a black-and-white photograph taken by Joseph Czarnecki. It is the thirty-sixth frame on the fourth roll of film developed in a batch numbered 217721.

Fieldworkers' final reports are cited from time to time in this report. They are filed by fieldworker with the collection, housed in the American Folklife Center's Archive of Folk Culture. A reference archive will be deposited at the New Jersey State Library in Trenton.


NEW JERSEY
PINELANDS
TRENTON
PHILADELPHIA
Delanco
Cassville
Whiting
Toms River
FORT DIX MILITARY RESERVATION
Browns Mills
Vincentown
Pemberton
Medford
Tabernacle
Chatsworth
Woodmanzie
LEBANON STATE FOREST
Lanoka Harbor
Forked River
Cedar Creek
Barnegat Bay
Waretown
Speedwell
PENN STATE FOREST
WHARTON STATE FOREST
Warren Grove
BARNEGAT NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE
Manahawkin
Alco
The Plains
Nesco
Hammonton
BASS RIVER STATE FOREST
GREEN BANK STATE FOREST
New Gretna
Tuckerton
Egg Harbor City
Port Republic
BRIGANTINE NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE
Millville
ATLANTIC CITY
Port Elizabeth
Mauricetown
Beesley's Point
Port Norris
Woodbine
Great Cedar Swamp
Estell Manor
BELLEPLAIN STATE FOREST
Dennisville
Seaisleville
DELAWARE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CAPE MAY
NEW JERSEY
REGIONAL LOCATION

INTRODUCTION

A Piney's Lament

In November of 1983 two fieldworkers from the American Folklife Center, Nora Rubinstein and Tom Carroll, visited Ed Hazelton at his home in Manahawkin, New Jersey. Asked how he felt about the accelerating changes in his shore community, Hazelton replied:

> I don't like it. I like progress. It has been controlled progress to a certain extent around here, but of recent years it's really gotten out of hand. It's really gotten out of control. You go down here to the Shop Rite Plaza where I used to rabbit hunt and shoot quail and run with my dogs and all that kind of stuff, and now it's loaded with cars and people and strangers—you don't know anybody and all that sort of thing, and it's altogether different. It's altogether different. (November 4, 1983, RNR013)

Hazelton's complaint addresses a national problem—the disintegration of community, of places with character, of folklife habitats, and the destruction of vital cultural resources through haphazard patterns of development. Hazelton is not the kind of "native" that government agencies and tourists are apt to recognize. He is not Native American or Pennsylvania Dutch. Nor is he a refugee from Central America or Indochina. Though some people might call him a Piney, he is also a Middle American citizen with a South Jersey accent. His family has lived along Barnegat Bay for generations. As of 1978, he also lives in the Pinelands National Reserve.

His way of life is perhaps most endangered because it is hard to see except when cast into relief by cultural change. Contrast makes it visible, contrast between the old way of doing things and the modern way, and contrast between the way newcomers think things should be done and the ways that "the natives" are used to. Others in Hazelton's community share his feeling of helpless resignation. Janice Sherwood, a musician from Forked River, echoes his sentiments in this excerpt from her composition "The Piney's Lament":

> "They call these changes progress, but I hope they don't remain
> Bringing cities down the parkway, Jersey all will be the same,
> Just a heap of piled-up houses, not a garden or a tree.
> Industry is leaving us no room for roaming free.
> Outhouses used to fill a need, now one just can't be found —
> Folks are talking sewers, plumbing's further underground.
> Our ways of life are changing, things will never be the same,
> But it's good old Ocean County till the new folks change the name.
> (November 19, 1983, RMH056)"

The careful listener will realize that Hazelton and Sherwood are not objecting to change, per se, but rather to a diminished quality of life wrought by insensitive planning and development. While planners are accustomed to policies that protect habitats for plants and animals, or that preserve historic and archeological remains, they are only beginning to explore policies that foster local ways of life. The biggest challenge for planners, especially those who are outsiders to the region, is learning to "see" the intangible cultural elements that should be translated into planning strategies.

The kinds of things Hazelton and Sherwood miss in a place are never inventoried because their significance is not understood by planners, and only rarely articulated by local people. Rabbit dogs, for example, are for many local people what binoculars are for bird-watchers—they are a traditional means of bringing the natural world closer to its human observers. As Joanne Van Istendal of Marlton put it, hound dogs are used in the woods to gather stories. Through stories people deepen their relationship to the places surrounding them. The stories contain important information for planners who know how to interpret them.

The Pinelands National Reserve comprises a million acres of diversified landscape in South Jersey. The Pinelands Commission, its managing body, has before it a special challenge. Its policies can both preserve natural, historic, and archeological resources, and maintain the special qualities of place that make the Reserve a living landscape. For this work the Commission needs a strong and sensitive data base encompassing living cultural resources, a task without precedent in the history of managing nationally significant landscapes. Such a data base should include not only stories connected with the landscape, but also a wide range of other forms which we will call "folklife expressions," expressions containing important information about place.

The American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress, having submitted a report on "cultural conservation" to Congress in 1983,[1] has pondered the problem of systematically protecting the intangible resources that are so intrinsically connected to a community's life and values. Technically oriented strategies that seem to work with plants,animals, water resources, and historic sites do not work with living cultures. Litmus paper, shovels, carbon-14 tests, and site-oriented surveys cannot calculate the cultural dynamism of a place. While sites can be measured with yardsticks, places cannot. They can, however, be mapped and photographed and described in interviews. We can find out where they are and what they mean, using ethnographic methods to augment the methods currently used to evaluate natural and cultural resources.

In the fall of 1983 the Center, together with state, local, and federal agencies in New Jersey, began to survey and document folklife in the Pinelands National Reserve. The fieldwork began with a two-month survey in the fall of 1983 and continued with short trips to the field through January 1986. The following report summarizes the project's findings, discusses the mutual relevance of folklife and regional planning, and recommends strategies for cultural conservation in the National Reserve.

The Need to Integrate Scientific and Humanistic Approaches

A current controversy in the field of planning pits those espousing "humanistic" approaches to the environment against those whose principal methods are "scientific." Donald Meinig, a cultural geographer, writes:

> Characteristically, we have looked at "environment" very largely through the eyes of science rather than of the humanities. Science proceeds first of all by analysis, by dis-integrating, and thus we do have large numbers of highly trained specialists on various parts of the environment: geologists, hydro-

Herbert "Snapper" Misner, of Medford, scans a reservoir for signs of snapping turtles. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald. 85BDM235.200-14-27.)

> logists, zoologists, botanists, soil scientists, and meteorologists, to name only the most familiar. We also have various kinds of ecologists who study the interrelations between living things and their environment and thus have inherently a more integrative approach. But not only is this last an alarmingly small group (as we have suddenly realized), it tends as well to be far too narrow to serve the purpose. For most "ecologists" are "natural scientists," meaning that they have consciously specialized in "nature" and not in "human culture," and there has been a very strong tendency (entirely desirable for certain purposes) to try to separate the two, to regard man and his works as "unnatural" intruders.[2]

An effort to mend the schism—a split exacerbated in part by the rise of environmentalism in the 1960s and 1970s—is marked by the spate of neologisms spawned over the past several decades that introduce a humanistic, affective dimension to environmental semantics: geopiety, topophilia, biophilia, human ecology, environmental psychology, anthropogeography, ethnoecology, and socionatural systems, to name a few. This daunting vocabulary also marks a burgeoning interdisciplinary network of scholars in the fields of geography, urban planning, ecology, sociology, anthropology, psychology, literary criticism, biology, and folklife studies. The combined thinking of scholars in these fields forms the backdrop against which the Pinelands Folklife Project unfolded.

The hands of Herbert Misner, mending a snapper fyke. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald, 85BDM235200-09-02.)

Planners often base their decisions on measurable data— deer densities, the soil pH, visual scenic types. Yet those aspects of place that combine to give it character are difficult to quantify. We often speak of the "personality" of a place, which is a metaphor for intangible qualities, "the basic combination of man and the land in its total environment," as Donald Meinig describes it.[3] We can, in fact, document "place" if we view it as Timothy Cochrane defines it, as "... the combined effect of physical setting, human experience and culturally based meanings."[4] The *Comprehensive Management Plan* for the Pinelands is based upon scientific documentation of the physical setting, and historic/archeological documentation of human experience. To obtain information on the human experiences and culturally-based meanings that lend character to places, ethnographic methods must be employed.

A place cannot have a personality except as that personality emerges in the expressions of its people—their homes, songs, stories, and customs. Geographer Edmunds Bunkse suggests that such expressions yield information planners cannot gather from any other source:

> Folklore can be ... an indicator of the culture of a people, their collective sense of place in the world, and of the meanings with which they imbue the landscape ... Moreover, folklore can open a window onto the world as it was experienced by common people in the past—an area that is altogether inaccessible to the tests and questionnaires of social and behavioral scientists.[5]

Sense of Place

In creating the National Reserve, Congress responded not only to a national desire for wilderness areas, but to a growing concern that places with character are disappearing. Leonard Lutwack, a literary scholar, reminds us of the writer's role in conserving sense of place:

> An increased sensitivity to place seems to be required, a sensitivity inspired by aesthetic as well as ecological values, imaginative as well as functional needs. In so far as the representation of place in literature has an important influence on how people regard individual places and the whole world as a place, it may be concluded that literature must now be seen in terms of the contemporary concern for survival.[6]

This relationship between perception and action exemplifies what Donald Hardesty calls "reciprocal causality"[7], that is, a "circular interaction between two things." How we act on a place depends upon how we view it. How we view it depends on the information we have. The kind of information we have depends upon the tools we have for gathering it. Our tools transform the place, which in turn affects our lives. Simplified, the formula looks like this:

1) Landscape + users' perceptions = collective image

2) Collective image + action = landscape

In the course of the survey, we considered some of the ways in which users convey their perceptions through folklife expressions and how their tools for managing the landscape are tied to the collaborative image of the place, as well as to the collective memory. Because the National Reserve has roots in this growing concern for special places, we turned to sense-of-place scholarship,

Sand trail through the Plains near Warren Grove. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 84BJC222306-09-36.)

which blends approaches from cultural geography and anthropology, for some of our basic concepts. The concept of place itself could serve as a basis for cultural conservation in the region for a number of reasons. Place provides the context for folklife resources, issuing from them at the same time that it surrounds them. Like folklife resources, place is inseparable from a sense of the past. The image of a place emerges constantly as it is formalized and conveyed through folklife expressions.

As a concept, scholars have contrasted "place" with "space" and "placelessness." From outside the region, for example, the Pine Barrens are widely regarded as a near wilderness at the core of the Eastern Megalopolis, a formalized remnant of the frontier that fulfills our need for that particular sort of space described by Yi Fu Tuan as "a common symbol of freedom in the Western World":

> Open space has no trodden paths and signposts. It has no fixed pattern of established human meaning; it is like a blank sheet on which meaning may be imposed. Enclosed and humanized, space is place. Compared to space, place is a calm center of established values. Human beings require both space and place.[8]

The phrase "one space, many places"[9] glossed our initial concept of the region in two senses. First, a large and diversified landscape had been gathered into a single entity: the Pinelands National

Reserve. Within each subregion there are many places, all competing for visibility with the popular image of the Pinelands as a wilderness, a space freed from the constraints of everyday places. Second, each space is potentially many places, depending upon the point of view of its users.

We can "mine" folklife and the places tied to it for information on the interlocking of cultures and their environments. "Places are fusions of human and natural order," writes Edward Relph.

> the significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world... Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world and hence are full with meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities. They are important sources of individual and communal identity.[10]

Woodland kiosk at the entrance to Joe Albert's homeplace near the Forked River Mountains. (Photograph by Mary Hufford.)

A sense of place is, in Paul Shepard's words, "a collation of events and processes which together ensure uniqueness and difference in an environment always in danger of slacking off into insipidity."[11] We assume that if these points of uniqueness and difference can be identified, in tandem with scientific investigation, they can be protected. If we do not attempt to articulate them, the *de facto* result is placelessness, which Relph sees as the nemesis of place:

> both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order... As a self-consciously adopted posture, placelessness is particularly apparent in *technique*, the overriding concern with efficiency as an end in itself. In *technique* places can be treated as the interchangeable, replaceable locations of things, as indeed they are by multinational corporations, powerful central governments, and uninvolved planners.[12]

While "place" is obviously an important concept, it appears difficult to document or evaluate with any precision, in contrast to determining the carrying capacity of a tract of woods for white-tailed deer, or a salt-marsh for muskrats. Timothy Cochrane reports that, when he entered the community of fishermen on Isle Royale with a set of precise questions concerning sense-of-place, the best information surfaced unexpectedly in folklife expressions:

> Utilization of a finding list appeared to be the most exacting method of eliciting candid sense-of-place responses. [However] the most revealing sense of place responses came unbeknownst embedded in a story or metafolklore.[13]

The dome of St. Vladimir's Russian Orthodox Church in Cassville. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC216422-04-24.)

Folklife Expressions

Applied folklorists often seek to understand folklife—also known as "community life and values" or "traditional cultural values"—by studying folklife expressions. The mode of entering a culture through its expressions distinguishes folklife research from research in allied fields like anthropology, history, or sociology. The creative and symbolic forms listed in the American Folklife Center's enabling legislation (P.L. 94-201) comprise a kind of finding aid to folklife expressions. According to the law, "expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms such as custom, belief, technical skills, language, literature, art, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual, pageantry, and handicraft."

A South Jersey "tightwinder" staircase in the home of Charlotte and Warren Hitchner at Possum Trot in Chatsworth. The cabin was built more than 200 years ago out of local pine and cedar. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21799.3-02-08.)

The terms listed are generic, and are not necessarily in agreement with local terms and forms. Some folklife expressions seem intimately connected with the Pinelands and its resources, while others emphasize ties with other places and times. Annual events like the blessing of the lake on St. Vladimir's day in Cassville and the Italian procession of saints'statues through the streets of Hammonton on the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel have ancient roots on another continent, while newly emerging celebrations like the Chatsworth Cranberry Festival and the Whitesbog Blueberry Festival relate to current Pinelands issues.

Some forms, like garveys and "tightwinder" staircases are distinctive to South Jersey, while others, like quilting, canning, and fox hunting, are found in many parts of the country. However ubiquitous, folklife expressions usually are adapted to the locale in which we find them. Thus farm markets boast of "Jersey peaches" and boatbuilders of "Jersey cedar." Many foxhunters use Maryland Hounds, a subregional strain of hound specifically adapted to Pine Barrens terrains. Even quilting is tied to the South Jersey landscape: the Sew-and-Sews, a quilting group in Tabernacle, quilt as part of the agricultural cycle, between the pumpkins in the fall and the asparagus in the spring.

Folklorists believe that, as Franz Boas put it, "all human activities may assume forms that give them esthetic values." Whatever we call them—forms, genres, "cultural texts,"[14] "codified idioms,"[15] expressive behavior, or folklife expressions—we assume that they arise out of a universal impulse to "traditionalize" shared experience, as Dell Hymes noted in a landmark essay:

> Folklorists believe that capacity for aesthetic experience, for shaping of deeply felt values into meaningful, apposite form, is present in all communities, and will find some means of expression among all.[16]

Farm market in Egg Harbor, advertizing Jersey produce. (Photograph by Sue Samuelson. 83BSS216651-02-23.)

What exactly are folklife expressions? What do they mean? How do they work? What do they accomplish? Why are they important? David Wilson reminds us that "culture is humankind's characteristic strategy to fix' itself and the world it inhabits—fix,' in both senses, meaning to set and to remedy and improve."[17]

Folklife expressions call our attention to the great variety of ways in which people not only fix the world, but fix it up—embroidering, in a sense, on certain universal necessities of life. They mark differences in experiences germane to our species: birth, childhood, courtship, marriage, child rearing, death, and the calendar year. Folklife expressions are often taken for granted, except in the presence of cultural difference. Variation over space and time casts them into relief. As Elaine Thatcher noted in her final report:

> One of my most consistent fieldwork experiences in every place I've worked is to ask a question about how something is done and get the answer: "Oh, just the regular way." The discovery of how many "regular" ways there are to can fruit or notch logs is one of the joys of fieldwork.

Helen Zimmer, of Egg Harbor City, preparing peppers and cauliflower for "chow-chow." (Photograph by Elaine Thatcher. 83BET215661-03-13.)

In the presence of contrast, the "regular ways" of cooking, celebrating holidays, dancing, gardening, or decorating interiors may take on a heightened significance.

The folklife expression calls attention to itself as something significant that stands apart from daily life while being constructed of the materials at hand. It tends to be marked by boundaries: the beginnings and endings of stories; the intensified language, costume, and foodways of ceremonies; the specialized vocabularies that accompany clearly defined processes like clamming and lumbering; and the tangible shapes of boats and decoys. It may be heightened by artistic devices like symmetry, repetition, or rhyme. Through ritual, food, music, craft, costume, drama, games, and contests, communities enact conflicts, crystallize shared experiences, and encapsulate their identities, whether ethnic, regional, religious, or occupational. With respect to the project's goals, the celebrations were significant for their messages about natural resources, their treatment of the past in the present, and the worldviews of the various sponsoring communities.

Access to the region's collective memory is formalized in its folklife expressions. Because they grow out of shared experiences and values, folklife expressions serve as windows on the community's worldview for the outsider—whether the outsider is a scholar, a planner, or a newcomer to the region. Tools and technologies store information about natural resources and their transformation, and ritual and art forms store information about cultural groups: who they are and how they are supposed to be. Folklife expressions have great recycling potential. They survive best when they are used and reused, co-evolving with their contexts. They comprise important indices to the health of community life and values and they contribute significantly to the character and quality of place.

In a sense, folklife expressions are strategies for cultural conservation, repositories for the kind of information that Edmund Leach says each generation must pass along to the next:

> Broadly speaking, the information which must be stored and transmitted from generation to generation is of two kinds: (1) information about Nature: that is, about the topography, the climate, usable and dangerous plants, animals, inanimate things and so on; (2) information about Society: the relations of men to other men, the nature of social groups, the rules and constraints which make social life possible.[18]

Although Leach was speaking of ritual as a means of storing and transmitting information, there is a sense in which most expressive forms serve as repositories in this dual way. Like maps, recipes, and musical scores, folklife expressions in general embody community life and values. They thus provide the researcher with access to the expressive life of the community, and with a way of viewing the cultural and natural environments through "native" eyes.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

Native Views, Native Peoples, and Pineys

Varying concepts of "native" mediate insider/outsider relationships in the region. From the project's point of view, the "natives" were any and all subjects of the study, that is,the region's users, whether they were visitors, developers, "locals," or "transplants." The people we talked to used the term "native" in another way. From their point of view, "natives" are generally those who have lived in the region for several generations. Ed Hazelton and Janice Sherwood are considered natives by themselves and by newcomers. However, as we shall see, "outsiders" have traditionally played key roles in shaping the landscape, often collaborating with or learning from natives, and planners and interpreters should resist the temptation to view outsiders or transplants as somehow less "pure" or culturally less significant than natives. They should also guard against romantic notions about natives, chronically reinforced by journalists.

The project's concept of "native view" is broader than the notion of "native (or indigenous) peoples" used by international conservationists, who, following the definition of the World Bank, see them as geographically isolated, unacculturated, non-literate, economically independent of the national system, ethnically distinct, linguistically distinct, and economically dependent on their immediate environment.[19] While these characteristics may describe some Third World cultures, they do not describe anyone living in the Pinelands National Reserve. They do, interestingly, describe the impressions that some newcomers and visitors have of "Pineys."

Cultural journalists often romanticize Pineys as indigenous, reclusive people who gather pinecones and other native plant materials for a living. Although the gatherers are, in fact, satisfying a very modern demand for the materials in the florist market they are erroneously associated in the public mind with subsistence lifestyles in earlier phases of civilization. For some consumers and purveyors of the region's folklore, gatherers comprise the undiluted essence of "pineyness." Notions of what and who Pineys are comprise a sizeable body of folklore in itself. One woman, a Medford resident, held that Pineys—among whom she does not include lumberers, trappers, farmers, or recently arrived ethnic groups—are the *only* fitting subject for folklife documentation. Her opinion is reinforced by formulaic presentations of Pine Barrens folklore:

> Men and women who give lectures on the folklore of the Pine Barrens, they show a pile of pinecones, people who come in with sacks on their backs of things they've collected. That, to me, would be what you would be after. That's piney culture because it's gone on for centuries. (Interview, Mary Hufford and Sue Samuelson, November 13, 1983. AMH021)

Another woman saw in the Piney lifestyle a pristine example of indigenous living:

> Like the Indians lived, with the environment. Well, Pineys would be typical, and the ones you'd want to study would be ones that lived here without

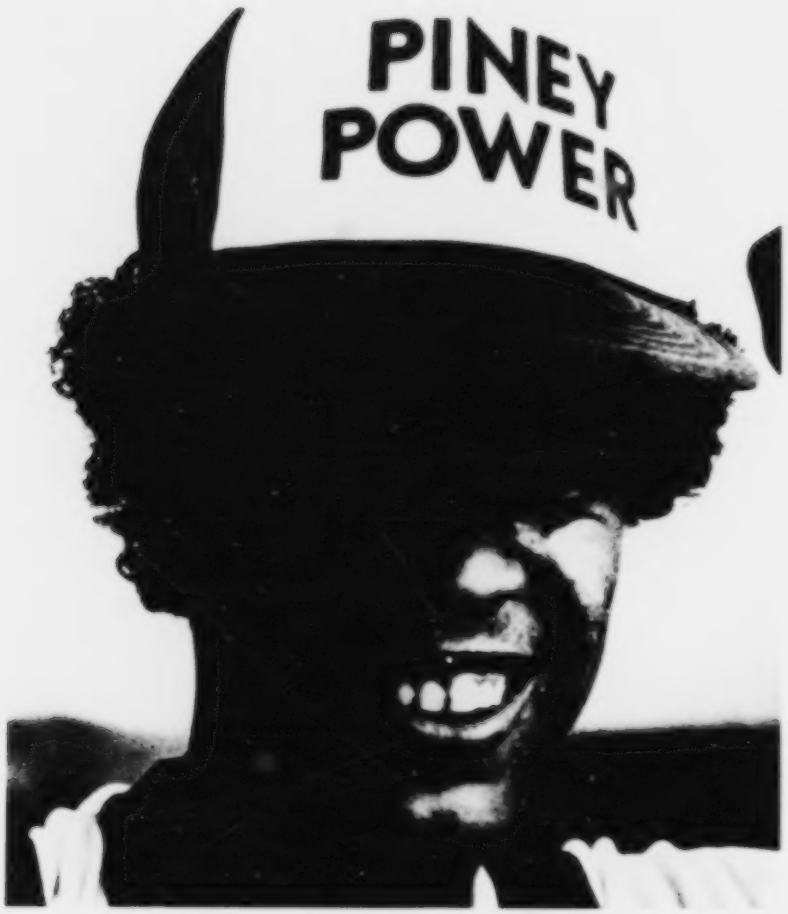
William Wasiowich, of Woodmansie, gathering pine cones on the Plains. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC216558-06-05.)

> changing the environment—without putting in lawns and chrysanthemums. [i.e. non-indigenous plantings] (Interview, Mary Hufford and Sue Samuelson, November 13, 1983. AMH021)

But Charlie Pomlear of Dennisville, a self-ascribed Piney, associates the word with the "pioneer" from our national past who conquered the wilderness and its aboriginal peoples. (November 10, 1983. RJL026)

Many who work in the region as hunters, gatherers, and woodsmen were not, in fact, born there. Jack Cervetto, Leo Landy, Bill Wasiowich, and Joe Albert are well-known examples of woodsmen who moved from North Jersey or Philadelphia. Yet, as we will see, their maintenance of traditional skills and occupations contributes to the region's character. "Pineyness," unless defined by example, eludes Piney detectors, as Nora Rubinstein concluded in her dissertation:

> "Pineyness" was based on geographical location at various stages in life, with birth-place being of greatest significance, [then] ancestry, age, occupation, economic status, family ties, and an amorphous quality many comprehend, but few can determine. It is an attitude, a way of being in the world, an essence or quality not included in the legislative description . . . an affective sense—a feeling for family, but most important, for the land, for the experience of "being" in the Pines. It is just over the horizon, or, as Janice Sherwood said, "a little deeper in the woods than you are."[20]



Orlando Torres, a second-generation Pine Barrens resident, works for the Birches Cranberry Company in Tabernacle. (Photograph by Carl Fleischhauer. 83CCH003-10.)

This attitude that distinguishes Pineys from outsiders cannot be discovered simply by searching genealogical materials. Regarding the difference between visitor and native viewpoints Yi Fu Tuan writes:

> Generally speaking, we may say that only the visitor (and particularly the tourist) has a viewpoint; his perception is often a matter of using his eyes to compose pictures. The native, by contrast, has a complex attitude derived from his immersion in the totality of his environment. The visitor's viewpoint, being simple, is easily stated. Confrontation with novelty may also prompt him to express himself. The complex attitude of the native on the other hand can be expressed by him only with difficulty and indirectly through behavior, local tradition, lore, and myth . . . Obviously the visitor's judgement is often valid. His main contribution is the fresh perspective[21]

Both natives and outsiders learn from their differences in perception. Capt. Lou Peterson, a Delaware Bay oysterman, commented to fieldworker Jens Lund:

> I don't think that you consciously know anything. I think living around this area and growin' up around it, your senses become used to it or somethin', because, you take my father-in-law, he moved down here in 1950, and he couldn't get over the fact that every native down here, when the wind changed, noticed it. (October 22, 1983. RJL019)

For Peterson's father-in-law, the local response to the weather was an important aspect of the place's character. Such environmental acumen—"environmental literacy, we might call it—and the ways in which people formalize everyday information about the environment are of special interest to folklorists and anthropologists.

Janice Sherwood, of Forked River, performing at Albert Hall in Waretown. (Photograph by Carl Fleischhauer. 83BCF217991-02-3L)

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Folk Groups

The source of folk culture is the folk group, which Barre Toelken describes as "any group of people who share informal communal contacts that become the basis for expressive, culture-based communications." The longer the group has maintained its culture by educating its young, the more it is likely to be what Edward T. Hall terms a "high-context" group for whom "meaning and action are more directly related to context than to the simple denotations of words themselves."[22] Most people participate in more than one folk group: one person can belong to an age cohort, a multi-generational family, an ethnic community, and an occupational group. By this reckoning a complete tally of the cultural groups in the Pinelands National Reserve would threaten exhaustion.

It is true that South Jersey bears the stamp of what Elizabeth Marsh calls an "ethnic archipelago:" islands, separated by swampy areas, that provided natural settlement space for German, Italian, Jewish, and Russian colonists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[23] It is also true, as John Sinton notes, that the Pinelands have for centuries served as a refuge for cultures escaping conditions of oppression or persecution: Quakers, Tories, Blacks, Russians, Jews and now "back-to-the-landers" and "urbophobes."[24]

Commenting on the organization of cultural difference, Kai Erikson observed:

> The people of any culture sort themselves into a wide variety of groups and segments, each of them sharing something of the larger culture at the same time that each tries to fashion modes of living peculiar to itself.[25]

If we are going to conceive of the region as a patchwork of little communities and ethnic enclaves, however, we have to bear in mind that their boundaries are permeable. To think of Hammonton as an Italian community, Egg Harbor as German, Woodbine as Jewish, Medford as Quaker, Cassville as Russian, and Chatsworth as Piney, is to miss their interconnectedness and to overlook altogether the Puerto Ricans and Blacks who also make these places their homes. Bonnie Blair discovered that Woodbine, for example, has become something of a model for the conservation of Puerto Rican culture and identity for some of the Puerto Rican communities elsewhere in the region.

The region by its nature mediates ethnic and regional identities. Ethnicity, which is a way of organizing cultural difference, is often an expression of identity with *other* places, while regional identity emerges through everyday life in *this* place. Ethnic and regional customs are often lodged in the same people. Sal and Ralph Putiri's grandfather settled in Hammonton in the late nineteenth century. They learned some Italian from him, though they do not claim fluency. They recall eating abolenta (corn meal mush) around the table as children. They go to Toni's Custard Stand on Italian Night, every Wednesday, and they celebrate Christmas Eve with traditional Italian seafood dishes. They are named in the traditional Italian way, the oldest son for the paternal grandfather and the second son for the maternal grandfather. They also harvest sphagnum moss from the swamps to make grave blankets to sell at Christmas time—a regional custom.

Elaine Thatcher interviewing Sal Putiri, Sr. while Sue Samuelson photographs the making of a Christmas log from sphagnum moss and evergreens. (Photograph by Carl Fleischhauer 83BCF217901-05-08.)

Other Places in This One: Ethnicity and Sense of Place

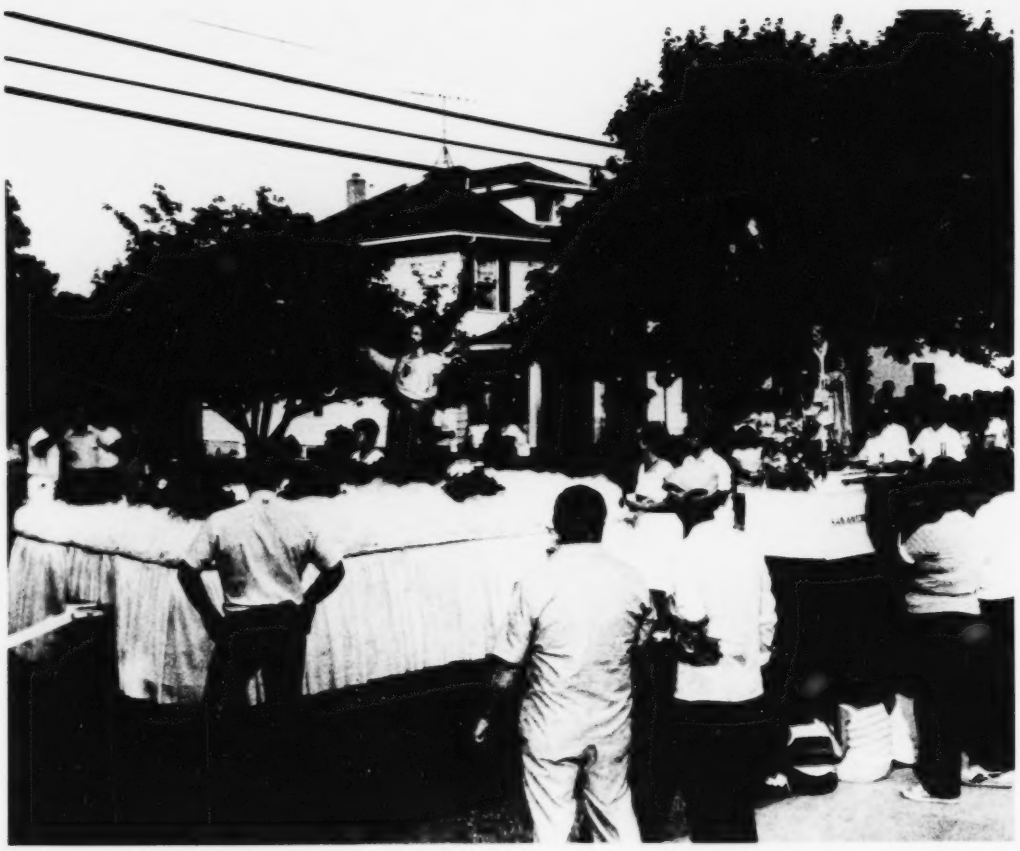
We have grown accustomed to myriad emblems of ethnic identity. Ethnic groups, detached as they are from their places of origin, have grappled with the spectre of loss of identity longer than locally-rooted people who have only begun to feel culturally threatened in the last several decades. A song sung by Miguel Juan de Jesus, a migrant worker from Puerto Rico who harvests cranberries for the Lee family in Chatsworth, vividly depicts the worst possible effect of the breakup of community that Puerto Ricans have experienced over the past fifty years. While Pinelands natives mourn the proliferation of strangers in their towns, migrants know that they might not recognize their own friends and family. One could even tragically fall in love with one's own sister:

> *Enamore a mi hermana, que no la conocia,*
> *Enamore a mi hermana, por equivocacion—*
> *Porque ella se criaba en Ponce, Puerto Rico,*
> *Mientras yo me criaba en Brooklyn, Nueva York.*[26]
>
> (I fell in love with my sister, without knowing it was her,
> I fell in love with my sister, because of a mistake—
> Because she grew up in Ponce, Puerto Rico,
> While I was raised in Brooklyn, New York.)

When communities or individuals are separated from their cultural contexts, they may encapsulate that lost world in some form. These forms become touchstones, gauges of cultural authenticity. Thus, for example, Lydia Gonzalez told Bonnie Blair that Puerto Ricans in Woodbine "don't lose themselves," because they keep their houses "the old way, with their *Sagrado Corazon* (Sacred Heart) and their plastic flowers and everything, and still really cook the old way all the time." (83FBB1104) Though the landscape already was made when they arrived, the immigrant communities made it their home in various ways. Thus behind what look like homogenized facades and strips we find highly diversified cultures.

On Route 54 just south of Hammonton, Mrs. Toni Marinella operates a seasonal stand called Toni's Custard:

> This was a small restaurant serving burgers, hoagies, soft ice cream, and the like. But on Wednesday nights a group of Italian ladies, all related, it seems, to the owner, Mrs. Toni Marinella, get together and make spaghetti. The pasta is homemade, as is the sauce . . . They make meatballs the "good" way, frying them (the night before) rather than baking them. (83FSS0928)"



Procession of sacred statues down Third Street in Hammonton during the annual celebration of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in July. (Photograph by Sue Samuelson. 84BSS227037-01-33.)

While forms like music, dance, ritual, and technologies evolve or die out, food is often the most conservative form, and ethnic identities may be concentrated and efficiently transmitted in it, as Clara Paolino observed, "I don't lose my way of doing things. I like my daughter-in-law because she likes to do things like I do. We do eggplants, or pickles, or applesauce." (October 11, 1983, RET017) Her culinary repertoire reflects contact with other ethnic communities in the region:

> When my father first had Puerto Ricans come down to their farm, their food smelled so good. One day they were making pork and beans, bacon and rice and hot dogs. I cooked it for my kids and they loved it. So when they got married, they told their wives they wanted their "Puerto Rican Dinner," so my daughter-in-law called and asked what Louis wanted. I said, "Oh, Mary Ann. My doggone kid. It's only hot dogs, pork and beans and bacon." (October 11, 1983, RET017)

Ann Davis, of Browns Mills, spoke of the Piney way to make snapper soup:

> I shred my snapper. I start out with cabbage, potatoes, celery, onions, carrots—cooked in stock. Then string beans, peas, whatever you want. Then I put six pounds of butter. Then . . . hard boiled eggs that I ground. That's the Piney way that we make snapper soup. In restaurants you get that brown gravy soup, and I don't like it. (September 19, 1983, RMH008)

Religion provides another focus for communal identity. Thus we find that copies of Da Vinci's "The Last Supper" both bridge and articulate cultural difference. In Valia Petrenko's Russian Orthodox home, the scene is draped with a ***rushnyk*** (a traditional embroidered ceremonial cloth), while in Tom Brown's trapper's cabin it is framed by a buck rack. (See final illustration, appendix II.)

The Last Supper *draped with a ceremonial* rushnyk *in the home of Valia Petranko. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald.)*

Formal Associations

Most people who might identify with a regional or ethnic group also belong to one or more formal associations, which crystallize some of the more elusive identities that are negotiated in everyday transactions. The voluntary associations are often the vehicles for grass-roots cultural conservation. They often know who the significant tradition bearers are. The Bayman's association, for example, led us to the Menhaden shanty singers. For the Commission, the formal associations can serve as viable, direct avenues to the private sector.

Such associations are themselves traditional forms, grounded in what Alexis de Tocqueville identified as that distinctly American "art of associating together." He wrote:

> Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association... Nothing, in my opinion, is more deserving of our attention than the intellectual and moral associations of America. The political and industrial associations strike us forcibly; but the others elude our observation because we have never seen anything of the kind... In democratic countries the science of association is the mother of science; the progress of all the rest depends upon the progress it has made.[27]

Warren Homiller, a volunteer fireman in Lower Bank. (Photograph by Sue Samuelson. 83BSS216651-08-12.)

Associations in the Pinelands National Reserve probably number in the thousands. They serve many important regional, economic, social, and cultural functions and merit the careful attention de Tocqueville recommended. In a listing of their names one sees the sum total of human concerns broken into many parts. The list itself could serve as a grass-roots index to cultural affairs in the region: the Bayman's Association, San Sostine Society, South Jersey Foxhunters Association, the Russian Orthodox Church, Masons, the Order of the Eastern Star, Tree Farmers Association, La Leche League, Old Home Society, Club Puertorriqueno de Accion Social,the Grange, Sierra Club, Liga de Domino Borinquen, Knights of Columbus, Knights of Pythias, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Wives of Prisoners of Foreign Wars, 4-H clubs, South Jersey Fur Takers Association, All-Terrain Vehicle clubs, Cranberry Growers associations, bottle digging clubs, the Raptors Association, the Audubon Society, the Philadelphia Botanical Club, the Delaware Valley Ornithological Club, the PTA, volunteer fire companies, Lake Community associations, and Ducks Unlimited.

On the other hand, some persons with common interests or pursuits are disinclined to form associations. For example, George Campbell, who farms salt hay in Eldora, declared that salt-hay farmers are "too cussed and independent" to affiliate. They should not be overlooked.

A number of associations, without being nominally ethnic, do serve as focal points for ethnic communities. Leah Wilhelm, of Waterford Township, told Elaine Thatcher that the Lion Tamers Association in Atco is a social club for northern Europeans, while the San Sostine Club is for Italian Catholics. Women's clubs with the same ethnic memberships include Atco's Contemporary Club and the Reader's Club in Waterford. The Order of the Eastern Star, according to Mid Green of Chatsworth, is a Protestant women's auxiliary to the Masonic Order. Such groups would be overlooked by the encyclopedia of American ethnic groups, yet their ethnic aspects merit attention.

Associations have life cycles. They are continually emerging,converging, and dying. Common knowledge distinguishes between associations and events that are for "locals," "transplants," or for both. Elaine Thatcher writes of the differences as Floyd West, of New Gretna, described them:

> I asked if there are any local festivals, suppers, or other social gatherings that they enjoy, and Floyd said that they used to have covered-dish suppers at church, but apparently they don't do it any more. I asked about the volunteer fire department suppers and their immediate reaction was that they are for "outsiders." The local fire company holds a clambake on Memorial Day which attracts visitors, not locals. Lots of beer and clams, and it gets rowdy. The Wests never let their daughters attend these functions... They also named the PTA roast beef supper, but said that that is put on by all new people. However, the Old Home Society (the group which is responsible for care of the local cemetery) has a dinner on Memorial Day that is only for locals. Unfortunately, attendance at that function is falling off. This dinner is usually turkey, and the women roast turkeys at home and bring them to the dinner. Floyd feels very accepted by the community because he was recently accepted as a member of the Old Home Society—in other words, as he said, "They trust me to take good care of their ancestors' graves." (83FET0923)

South Dennis Methodist Church and Cemetery, Route 47, Dennisville. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC217721-04-24.)

Celebrations

Folklife expressions are rooted in community life, which is often vividly displayed in community celebrations. Celebrations, which take many forms themselves, simultaneously assemble many of the community's most important symbols and expressions, including food, music, costume, dance, and ritual. Our fieldworkers documented a wide range of festivals, food events, rituals, and contests. During their two-month stay, fieldworkers attended dozens of communal gatherings, including firehouse breakfasts and suppers, harvest festivals, religious feasts, parades, and sports events. Such events often display facets of social structure and community values, often by turning them upside down, as when citizens in a democracy allow kings and queens free reign at homecomings and harvest festivities.

Contenders for the title of La Reina, *or Queen of the Puerto Rican community, line up in St. Joseph's Hall in Hammonton. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21770-05-05.)*

Festivals often celebrate local natural resources, recasting them in many guises. At an apple festival, apples become a way of celebrating old-time ways through the production of apple butter by ladies in pioneer costumes, the sale of apple-head dolls, and demonstrations of old-time apple corers and cider makers. Traditional forms like decoys and garveys are highlighted at decoy shows and garvey races. Contemporary skills may be celebrated as well, in contests for duck calling, snapper cleaning, muskrat skinning, and oyster shucking. The cuisine is also celebrated, at snapper soup parties, muskrat suppers, crab-ins, clambakes and deer banquets.

The basis for the festivals is a way of life, made visible in the community life calendrical year, which is deeply rooted in environmental knowledge.

A participant at MacHoeb's Crab-In displays the distinguishing feature of a male crab. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC216558-05-13.)

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THE ORGANIZATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL DIFFERENCE

Ethnoscience and Native View

In our effort to understand the region and its workings from the native point of view, we also relied on methods and ideas from that branch of anthropology known as ethnoscience. Developed in the 1950s and 1960s by Harold Conklin and Charles Frake, the approach seeks to grasp "the sum total of a group's knowledge, conceptions and classifications of objects, activities and events of its social and material world— the sum total of the reduction of chaos achieved by a particular culture."[28] How is it that people produce and maintain orderliness? How do they organize the natural and cultural diversity surrounding them?

Ethnoscience assumes that the group and the investigator—or "insider" and "outsider"—order the material and conceptual world according to different schema. These schema are sometimes contrasted as emic/etic[29] cognized/operational[30] or knowledge of/knowledge about.[31] The first word in each pair corresponds roughly to the insider's organization of his own culture and environment, grounded in lived experience; the latter corresponds to scientific or universal methods of classifying the same based upon observation. The challenge for planners is to blend local "knowledge of" the land and its resources with scientific "knowledge about" them in protective planning.

Ethnography is in part the craft of learning what to ask. Ethnographers learn in the course of fieldwork what kinds of questions work. We could not ask a gatherer: "How do you conceptually organize the woods?," even though that is what we wanted to know. Instead we learned to probe the shape of that knowledge by asking the question in many ways: "Have you ever been lost?" "What exactly is a piece of woods?" "What is the difference between a slough and a wet place?" "What do you call where we are now?" We cannot simply ask: "How do people manage woodscapes?" but rather, "When and how often do you control burn?" "How do you build a corduroy road?" "Who, in your opinion, is a good woodsman, and why?" "What is the name of this plant?" "What bird just made that sound?"

Though the methods for studying native view derive from the study of cultures far more exotic to the investigator than South Jersey was to our field team, there is a great need for applied ethnobiology in the Pinelands National Reserve. Those who interpret the region to a national audience should understand the political implications of using curley-grass fern as a regional symbol, since it does not represent the tastes of all those who value the region's resources.

An emphasis on rare flora and fauna leaves out the commonplace plants and animals that are of greatest local significance. An ongoing effort to correlate scientific and common names for things with their local names—a task our project barely began—would go a long way toward bridging the communication gap between those with knowledge *about* the resources and those with knowledge *of* them. Local people may become frustrated by the use of technical language to explain preservation objectives. For example, when George Campbell wanted to develop a commercial campsite on his property near the Maurice River, there was a hearing concerning the proposed campsite's environmental impact. Campbell reported:

Eugene Hunn, the project ethnobiologist, identifying and preserving plant specimens, while documenting their local names and uses. (Photograph by Carl Fleischhauer. 83BCF216-448-06-04.)

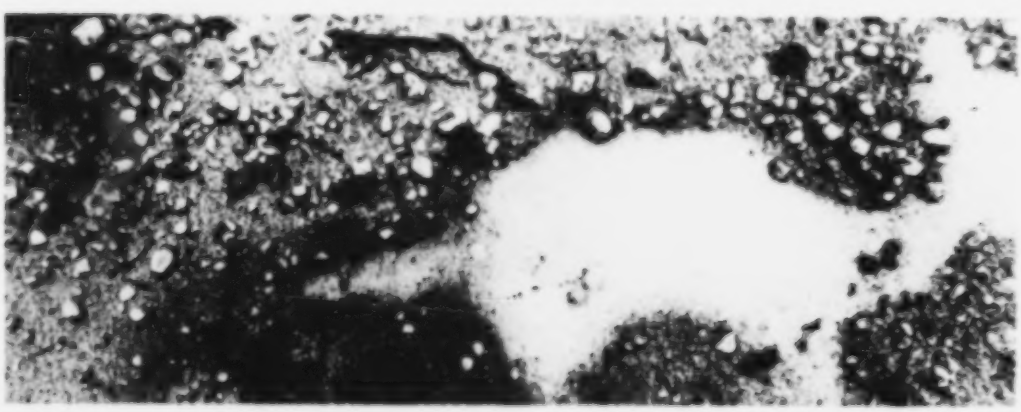
> A big environmentalist around here testified against the site that I picked. He said there were seven endangered species of grass there, you know; one of the people in the audience asked him what they was, and he said he just knew the Latin names. So he started to name them. So they asked him what they were in English. Well, he's so worried about them and he didn't even know what they was! (March 17, 1984, AEH001)

Consultation with local people regarding the names and uses for plants, animals, and habitats should be required in natural resource assessments, and the results incorporated in educational materials. Local names for plants, landscape features, and places divulge the region's character: "woodjin's enemy" tells us more about local cultural context than *Comptonia asplenifolia*. Local "knowledge of" contributes a humanistic dimension to scientific "knowledge about" which, in turn, solves problems posed by blueberry maggots and aquifer saboteurs.

"Knowledge about" could be mixed with "knowledge of" in programs of land management, where engineers and planners would benefit from the observations of those with firsthand experience of the land and its behavior. Ephraim Tomlinson, a Medford farmer, told Christine Cartwright:

> Some of our old farm practices are better than some of these engineering ideas—particularly in drainage. We have a problem in this very township because engineers do not understand our ecology or our conditions—they go by a book that's written for engineering practices in the state. But here in this very township we have three parts of the coastal plain involved, so that what would be all right in the lower part of the township or in our sand and pine district will not be effective across the highway or in where it's basically marl and aquifer. We really should have three sets of standards for engineering and draining. The engineers will ruin us eventually, I'm afraid, if they don't wise up and pay attention to old Mother Nature. (October 18, 1983, RCC017)

The task of ethnography is essentially one of translation.



Varying mixtures of sand and gravel, deposited by glaciers during the last ice age, form the substrate of the Pinelands National Reserve. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 84BJC222306-08-06.)

The Landscape Vocabulary: Categorical Forms

People everywhere annotate their surroundings, contributing new names and nuances to inherited vocabularies which, in turn, reclothe their environments. Information concerning nature and society is abundantly stored in names for things, which serve as starting points, threads whereby one can begin to unravel a region's story. As Oswald Tippo pointed out: "Names are abbreviated histories, they have dimensions in time; they are the beginning points of classification, the designations by which things are known."[52]

Distinctive topographic features inspire folklife expressions about the landscape which, in turn, filter the impressions people have of the place. Folklore, which, as Jim Moss points out, vivifies place, often takes its life from the features of place. He writes: "A vivid and integrated physical setting capable of producing a sharp image plays a vital role in folk narrative."[53]

Paul Shepard writes that "landscapes without place names are disorienting; without categorical forms, awful."[54] The environmental image begins with differentiation. The landscapes in the Reserve are well-annotated with a rich vocabulary of discernment.

"All right," said Jack Cervetto to Nora Rubinstein, on a tour of his swamp on the Oswego River, "now see that water we just went through? That separates that island from this island. Now this is another island surrounded by water."

"How can you tell that it's a slough and not just a wet spot?," Nora asked him.

"Well, it's low all the way around it. Altogether different bottom. See that rain we had the other day... last week this was perfectly dry. The rain we had the other day has put some water in here."

"Does this island have a name?," Nora asked him.

"No, no," he answered, "but it's my island and I'm pretty well attached to it."

"Islands," "sloughs," and "bottom" are landscape motifs, grammatical units in the language of wayfinding. They may be natural formations like hassocks, spongs, cripples, islands, sloughs, muskrat houses, stooling grounds, beaver dams, goose ponds, egg islands and "pieces" of woods, that are mentally factored out and endowed with meaning, or they may be human constructions with historic legacies, like channels, ditches, dams, bogs, charcoal pits, millponds, mosquito ponds, sand roads, hay roads and corduroy roads.

The landscape vocabulary informs us about variation in texture, wetness, salinity, and historic usages connected with different habitats. The concept of "bottom" ramifies into many different terms. Broadly speaking, for example, there are two kinds of bottom: wetlands and uplands. Wetlands include inland swamps, bogs, streams and rivers, coastal salt marshes, and the bays. Uplands include forests, human settlements, and farms. Bay bottoms, meadowlands and cedar swamps are all perceived as arrangements of "sloughs" and "islands." The wetlands are further differentiated into spongs, cripples, marshes, guts, ditches, branches, and dry ponds. Whereas ecologists recognize two different kinds of swamp (hardwood and cedar) a woodsman like Jack Cervetto further distinguishes cedar swamps according to their bottoms.

There are hard-bottom swamps and dry-bottom swamps. Each cedar has a hassock around it, about eight to twelve inches wide—it's a natural entanglement of roots around the cedar, and it's where you can hang sphagnum moss to dry when you're pulling it in the swamp. If the water gets above the hassock it kills the cedar. Of course, in dry-bottom swamps, the cedar grows without the hassocks. (84FMH0410)

William Wasiowich harvesting sphagnum moss in a cedar swamp. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki 83BJC216558:06-35.)

When John Earlin tells a story about a fox chase, he uses local swamp terminology, and his listeners might envision a hard-bottom swamp:

> I went up to North Branch. I struck a fox. I trailed him. We trailed him, trailed him, trailed him. Run right over into South Branch, right in the water and the hassocks. At that time there had been a fire through there and the cedar trees lapped over one another and everything else.[55]

Overlapping cedar trees are also called "laps." By "hassock," woodsmen mean something different than naturalists, for whom the metaphor is also a precise morphological term. John Harshberger, a famous Pine Barrens botanist, commented on the "hassock-like growth forms" found on uplands vegetation like broom crowberry (*Corema conradii*) and sand myrtle (*Dendrium buxifolium*):

> The idea of a hassock is a thick, rounded cushion, used as a foot-stool. It implies a besom, or bushy object, while a cushion growth form in the ecologic sense is like a pin-cushion, as we find in such plants as *Pyxidanthera barbulata* of the pine barrens or *Silene acaulis* of alpine regions. The growth form now to be described may be compared to a globular bush, which owes its form to the constant clipping by shears in the hands of a gardener. This form in nature is induced in a dry soil with strong transpiration, so that the plant has short curved, or crooked shoots and stems with short internodes and interlaced branches.[56]

Bottoms vary greatly within a small area, conveying the impression of a patchwork made of little pieces. People "read" them and allude to them by their vegetation. Thus in the same fox hunting story, John Earlin says:

> . . . and out come the fox, and I think the fox was, oh, maybe sixty, seventy yards ahead of the dogs, when he went out in the oaks. And he took them roarin' out there in the oaks, and when he came back, they were about fifty yards from 'im. Webby says, "Get in there! Get in there! That's the place to be! In at the swamp!"[57]

Jack Davis, of Browns Mills, and Jake Meredith, of Cherry Hill, casting Maryland hounds on the trail of a fox in Lebanon State Forest. (Photograph by Mary Hufford.)

When the fox was in "the oaks," where there is no dense undergrowth, the odds were greater that the dogs would catch him than they were in the swamp. Webby, of course, was siding with the fox.

George Brewer, a cedar cutter from Dennisville, described the variety of bottoms that lie in close proximity to one another. The sweet gum tree in his yard, he observed, indicates a boggy bottom. The yard behind his mother's house, on the other hand, is sandy enough "to sink a garden tractor." This kind of sand is the infamous "sugar sand" that experienced motorists on the back roads are wary of. Brewer continued:

> Her front yard is so gravelly you can hardly dig a hole, and down by the school there's a field full of buckshot sand.Behind it is a sand-wash—good enough for road gravel. (October 15, 1983, RJL009)

Jack Cervetto observed that in the portion of the South Plains each hill, as small as it is, is composed differently. "Every hill has a different material to it," he announced. "One is a gravel hill, another has sugar sand, another is ordinary sand, and there's some that are solid rock." (84FMH0405)

The patchwork of blueberry fields, cranberry bogs, forests, and truck farms reflects the interlocking pattern of fertile soils with barren sand. "This is the inner-outer coastal plain transitional area," explained Brad Thompson, a Vincentown blueberry grower, to Gene Hunn. They were looking at a grain field near Retreat. Thompson elaborated on the interlocking pattern between husbanded soils of truck farms and "virgin" (sandy, acidic) soils of blueberry fields.

"Around Buddtown," Thompson continued, "you get quasi- fertile soils; you have some farms. And over there is Retreat, where our blueberry farm is, and you have the white sandy soil. So there's an interplay there."

"Kind of like a checkerboard," said Hunn, trying to see Thompson's image. "Or is there a hard boundary?"

"More like fingers," said Thompson. "Fingers in a line. I think the fingers go in a line." (June 1984, AEH012)

Patchwork pattern of woods, farms, and residences north of the Mullica River. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83CJC048-12.)

Naming and Classifying

Classification is an ongoing activity among the region's users, who may criticize scientists for drawing the lines in the wrong places, or for making distinctions that are not relevant in everyday life. In his fieldwork among the fishermen of Isle Royale National Park, folklorist Timothy Cochrane discovered that men classified themselves, as taxonomers, into two groups: "slashers," who discriminate too finely, and "lumpers," who do not discriminate enough.[38] We encountered similar notions among Pinelands residents. Elizabeth Woodford, a self-taught botanist and local historian from Medford, observed that silviculturists have yet to strike a balance in the pygmy forest. "Do you know the young man who believes that the pines in the pygmy forest are definitely a subspecies?," she asked Sue Samuelson."Some people try to group them all together, and others make too many species out of them. (November 13, 1983. AMH021)

Hurley Conklin, a well-known decoy carver in Manahawkin, criticized waterfowlers for failing to distinguish among mergansers:

> A lot of people, they didn't know the difference between one duck and another anyway, when they went gunnin'. They'd say: "There goes a sheldrake," or a merganser, and that could be a hooded merganser, or it could be an American merganser. Sheldrakes, we call 'em, and there's three different kinds . . . We'd call 'em sheldrakes, cock robins and sawbills. April 11, 1985. AMH003)

Systems of naming and classifying plants within the region vary among its users. For example, the "slashes" and "lumps" of botanical specimen hunters do not always align with those of woodsman-gatherers. The botanists, who within their own tradition often visit and interpret the region to national and international audiences, have come to view pine barrens tree frogs (*Hyla andersoni*) and curly-grass fern (*Schizea pusilla*) as regional symbols. Yet as Elizabeth Woodford noted, curly-grass fern was never significant to local people. "Outsiders discovered curly-grass fern, not Pineys," she commented, "The Pineys were interested in making a living. The plant didn't mean anything to them. It took an educated man to recognize it was even a fern." (November 13, 1983. AMH021)

There are three kinds of names for most common natural species: 1) vernacular names, the local, unstandardized names that show great geographical and cultural variation; 2) common names, "the specific vernacular names selected by a regional body as the preferred non-botanical names for specific kinds of plants";[39] and 3) botanical names, Latin binomials conferred by an international congress of botanists. There can be only one Latin binomial at a time. In the Pinelands "twink" is one local name for *Pipilo erythophthalmus*, "twink" being a word that imitates its call. Its common name is "rufous-sided towhee." In the Southern mountains, on the other hand, a vernacular name is "Joe Reed," which is how some Southern mountaineers hear its cry. "May pink" is a local name for "trailing arbutus" or *Epigea repens*.

The names that local people apply to plants reflect their own experiences and economic needs. "They're ferns, that's all, to me," said Jack Cervetto, a Warren Grove woodsman, addressing cinnamon ferns (*Osmunda cinnamomea*) and bracken ferns (*Pteridium aquilinum*) alike. "I never made an issue out of ferns." However, he identified sweet fern (*Comptonia asplenifolia*) as "woodjin's enemy." It was not a fern to him. That same plant, laden in summer with bothersome "sand ticks," is called "sand tick weed" by Clifford Frazee, a woodsman in Forked River.

In some cases, woodsmen "slash" where scientists do not, applying several names to the same species, depending upon the plant's stage of growth and its utility in the florist market. *Phragmites communis*, for example, is gathered from the salt marshes in the summer as "reed plume," and again in the fall as "foxtails," when the "reed plumes" have gone to seed. Names for plants also may contain information about the way they look, where they grow, and other properties that may be dangerous or useful. For example, the roadside *Lespedeza capitata* is "brown burrs," according to Leo Landy of Nesco, who buys decorative "weeds" from local gatherers and sells them to florists. However, Jack Richardson, a Wrightstown buyer, calls them "rabbit's foot." "Cat's paws" (*Eriophorum virginicum*), which grow in the freshwater swamps, are also called "cottontail grass." "Pearly everlasting" (*Anaphalis margaritacea*), known elsewhere in this country as "rabbit tobacco," used to serve as a winter funeral flower in South Jersey, according to Hazel Landy, Leo's wife. She gathers it as "Old Field balsam," because it grows in a place called "Old Field."

People in Cumberland County sometimes feed their pigs with "hog huckleberries" (*Gaylussacia baccata*), according to Tom Brown, a trapper. Jack Cervetto claims that "killcalf" (*Lyonia mariana*) will poison a cow. Joanne Van Istendal of Medford told of losing a pet llama to the same plant, which she calls "staggerbush." "Stumpies" is Leo Landy's name for the mushrooms that Italian people gather from oak stumps, while the mushrooms that Eastern Europeans gather are "Polack mushrooms."

To Dusia Tserbotarew, a Ukrainian woman living in Cassville, the mushrooms she gathers in pine woods are quite diversified.She reports that "serovushka" (*Russoula sp.*) have a cheesey flavor. Red-capped mushrooms (resembling *Hypocrea viridis*) are called "krashluki" which also means "beautiful." One of her favorites is "petpanki" (*Armillarea mullea*), the honey mushroom. They grow in clumps on decaying tree stumps. During Lent, when she eats no meat or cheese, the mushrooms become a staple in her diet. (November 11, 1983. RRM001)

Such names are cultural artifacts, and as such are important to document. When taken as a whole, the names also begin to impart a sense of the region's cultural complexity. Determining the names is not difficult for the naturalist willing to spend time in the field with local people. While the Latin names tell us what the plants and animals actually are, the local names tell us far more about the plant's cultural context and its role as part of the context for local culture.

Dusia Tserbotarew gathering mushrooms in a pitch-pine and oak forest near Cassville. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21770-17-36.)

Ethnoecology and the Seasonal Round

Of concern to the ethnoecologist is the local view of how the region functions as a system, a balanced network of interdependent parts. Ethnoecological awareness in the region is stored in sayings like: "When the flies are in the hay, the weakfish are in the bay." The local conservation ethic that governs deer populations, brokers Atlantic white cedar for its varied cultural uses, regulates water for cranberry harvests, calculates the muskrats available for harvesting, prepares for and manipulates forest fires, and determines whether a farmer should stay in apples or switch to peaches is underwritten by a collective memory that is properly the province of cultural conservation.

The collective memory co-evolved with the practice known as "working the cycle," whereby residents made their livings from a variety of sources depending upon the season: shellfishing and trapping in the winter, gathering a wide variety of plants for sale to florists throughout the year, gardening and finfishing in the summer, working for the large growers in the fall, and working for the state or federal government for months or even years when other resources dried up.

Many people also have specialized at one or more of the seasonal activities, making a cottage industry of farming, boatbuilding and repair, lumbering, oystering, or fishing as the principal activity; and filling the spaces with trapping, gathering, construction work, or maintenance jobs. The ability to work the cycle if necessary is a matter of pride for a number of people, who value diversification as an option.

An informal nomenclature for groups in the region, addressing a wide variety of relationships to the land, suggests that people occur as ecotypes: woodsmen, baymen, stumpjumpers, snake-hunters, farmers, gatherers, collectors, and mudwallopers. Even terms like "transplant" (for newcomers) and "shoobee" (for tourists, who wear their shoes to the beach) allude to the referent's degree of removal from the land. To be a woodsman, bayman, or farmer is to grasp the unseen connections and mutual influences exerted among components of the environment. We can assume such titles indicate a high degree of environmental literacy.

The Collective Memory in Action: Working the Cycle

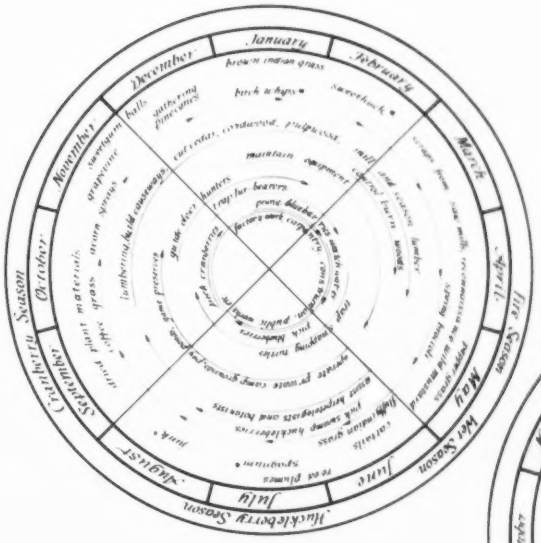
Working the cycle has also been the basis for a great store of information about natural resources and cycles, endowing those who work with the landscape season after season with a fine-grained image that professional scientists and planners from outside the region cannot possibly possess.

The collective memory, crystallized in the seasonal round, provides a strong link to historic and archeological remains, not in the sense that surviving old-timers may provide full and detailed recollections about the operation of forges (though there are old-timers who can speak with authority on shipbuilding, historic glassworks, and waterpowered mills), but in the sense that their knowledge of how the place works descends directly from those who put the early systems together.

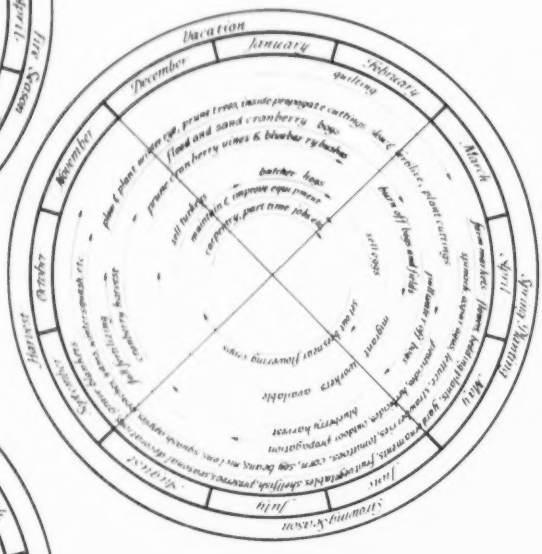
The options available now for working the land have replaced clusters of options available in past centuries, like an old garment that has been patched so often that, while few threads of the original remain, the original form is still discernible. Local lifeways are encapsulated in the maxim: "You can always make a buck in the woods and a dollar in the bay." When the woods and bays have been unproductive, local industries have filled in. In this century, casinos and public works have replaced glasshouses and iron forges.

THE SEASONAL ROUNDS

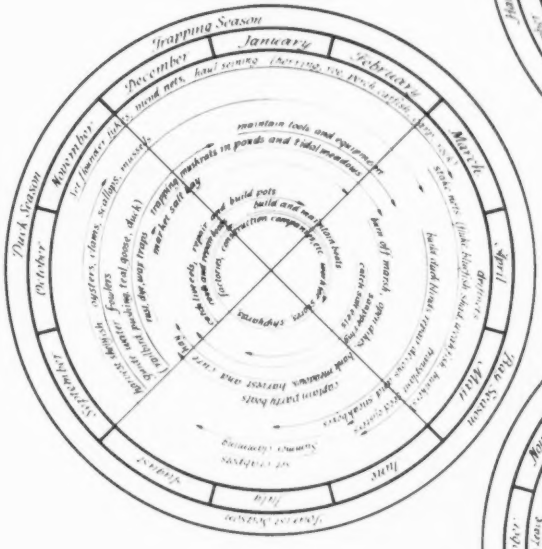
WOODLANDS



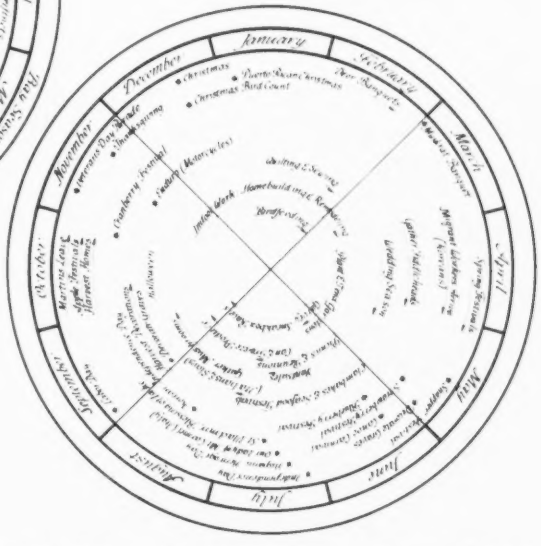
AGRICULTURE



BAY / MARSH



COMMUNITY LIFE



Source: Pinelands Folklife Project Data Base, 1986

It is important to note that there is not just one regional cycle, but numerous subregional cycles governed by social, economic, and environmental conditions. Traditional skills are clustered around these subregional cycles, and could be grouped according to themes. The themes suggested by our research include woodsmanship, baymanship, agriculture, and community resources. (Scientific research and recreational use are also strong themes, but as they already comprise a strong self-conscious presence and lobbying force, we will exclude them for the moment.) Because one individual often represents a mixture of themes, it is important not to think of anyone as solely and permanently a woodsman, bayman or farmer. This situation has its roots in the seventeenth century. Wilson pointed out that early census takers ran into difficulty when trying to classify people who were fisherman-farmers, or lumberman-farmers, and who also were employed in commerce and in "manufactures."[40]

The ability to work the cycle proceeds from a keen awareness that nothing on the landscape is static, and that one can turn the constant round of fluctuation to one's advantage. "You have your seasons out there in the meadow, like you do on your upland," said George Campbell. "The wildlife changes, you know. In the winter you don't have your crabs, and a lot of things go under the mud for the winter, but in winter you have your ducks and your geese and things move in." (RJL025)

The seasonal rounds vary from one subregion to another and, indeed, from one person to another. People construct their yearly cycles to suit the current market, abundance of resources, and their own preferences. We identified three principal cycles: agricultural, bay/marsh, and woodlands. Few people operate solely within one cycle, but rather pick and choose to produce their own yearly round, combining options from the agricultural, woodlands and bay/marsh subregions. "I done everything," said Cliff Frazee. "As the seasons went by I would do different things. Like the cranberry season was only about six weeks or two months. And then in the winter I might cut wood and I done clamming." (RMO006)

Henry Webb, of Chatsworth, was originally from Mississippi. While working for Inex Chemical Company he learned about the woodlands cycle from his co-workers:

> That was where I got started working in the woods around here. Guys were telling me about pulling pine cones... knocking berries, cutting cattails. So I learned how to do all that... In the spring of the year you knock huckleberries and then you go to pulling moss and cutting cattails, and in the fall you go to cutting wood. (September 19, 1983, RCC001)

Ted Ramp worked in the glass factories, which sometimes closed for six months. He filled in with clamming, snappering, cranberry picking, fishing, and trapping. Merce Ridgway, Sr., who made charcoal, humorously portrayed the problem of juggling supply and demand in "A Home in the Pines," a song he wrote with Bill Britton (who, by the way, was Janice Sherwood's uncle):

> Now when you go and dig some clams to sell when you reach shore,
> You'll find that the people just don't eat clams no more,
> But when the season changes and clams just can't be found,
> You'll find a buyer waiting each time you turn around."

Many of the tidal meadows were maintained as dairy farms, ditched and diked and bounded by split-rail fences that disappeared decades ago. Names for birds are the relics of those fences according to Kenneth Camp, of Port Elizabeth, who supplements his income in the fall as a railbird pusher. He tells about the farms when delivering the etymology of "railbird:"

> This was a dairy farm in here. They used to have the split rail fence. And when the meadows went out the fences went underwater, see, and started floating all over. And these rails would get on them and line up. They'd shoot them right down the rail. (October 2, 1984. RGP008.)

"In the old days," said Lou Peterson to Jens Lund, "most of the oystermen were also farmers, who, in the off-season in the winter, went oystering." (RJL017) Peterson commented that, under the new closed-entry system for licensing oystermen, an oysterman has to pay to register his boat even when the oyster crop is bad, just to keep his place. He also suggested that, in licensing fishermen by gear rather than issuing blanket bayman licenses, the state inhibits the diversification that is the backbone of traditional lifeways in the region. Mid Green of Chatsworth suggested that newcomers there are similarly shortsighted in wishing to impose a tax on each crate of cranberries and blueberries that is sold. "They [the growers] give so much work to local people!" she said indignantly.

Kenneth Camp, pushing a double-ended railbird skiff through a freshwater marsh above Port Elizabeth on the Maurice River. Participant-observer Gerald Parsons is preparing to shoot. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald. 84BDM235042-08-35.)

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The final verse of Janice Sherwood's composition, "A Piney's Lament," addresses this aspect of the conflict between the lifeways of local people and newcomers:

They like our country setting and they love our rural ways,
Seems like it's where they want to live, right here along the bays.
So down they come with kids and dogs, cars start fouling up the air,
Our nights so nice, just what they want, but put a streetlamp over there.
In the cities they had sidewalks and went everywhere by bus—
There should be more parks and stores and get more jobs for us.

Thus, people who work the seasonal round for themselves may be seen as jobless by people who work full time in the cities, a misunderstanding that Tom Brown also ponders in verse:

Security

Of education I have little or none;
I never thought I needed one.
For my wife and I worked side by side,
Steady as the endless tide,
Sharing sorrow and work and mirth,
And living off the good old earth.
In summer I farmed and worked in the woods;
In winter I hunted and trapped and lived real good.
To me the world was more than kind,
For I had happiness and peace of mind.
Then folks began to talk to me
Of building up security —
Security in dollars and cents
So off to the factory to work I went.
The years have come, the years have passed,
The so-called security I have at last.
But to me it was a waste of time,
For I lost my happiness and peace of mind.
So just remember and listen to me,
Happiness and peace of mind are worth more than security.

There are, of course, other seasonal rounds to chart, congruent with the other themes mentioned above: urban recreational rounds and naturalist rounds for "birders," "herpers," and "bog-trotters." We have simply provided composite examples of seasonal rounds linked with three traditional land-use themes. In the final chapter we will consider ways to use these themes in development review and public education.

GENRES OF PLACE: FOLKLIFE EXPRESSIONS AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMAGE

Kevin Lynch observes that places "furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication."[41] The region is rich in what we might call "genres of place"—songs, stories, poems, paintings, recipes, rituals, tools, technologies, names, and ways of doing things in which knowledge of the place, its past, and its people is formalized and presented. They are genres of place because they are bound to the locale. They are not fixed, however. Old forms continually are being modified, and new forms always are emerging.

The seasonal rounds have yielded a repertory of regional forms that are readily named and interpreted by their producers. People often said: "Now that's an art in itself, eeling (trapping, clamming, fishing, building a corduroy road, caulking a boat, making meatballs, canning preserves)." Speaking of primitive art, Franz Boas noted:

> When the technical treatment has attained a certain standard of excellence, when the control of the processes involved is such that certain typical forms are produced, we call the process an art, and however simple the forms may be, they may be judged from the point of view of formal perfection; industrial pursuits such as cutting, carving, moulding, weaving; as well as singing, dancing and cooking are capable of attaining technical excellence and fixed forms.[42]

Communities and performers in the Pinelands National Reserve have developed both the forms and the standards of excellence against which individual productions are judged. They are the authorities who can teach us to see the forms and who can identify the best of those forms that the region has to offer.

Place-Naming

Anthropologists have observed that American Indian place names provide important clues to the native organization of environmental knowledge. Keith Basso writes, "The study of place name systems may reveal a great deal about the cognitive categories with which environmental phenomena are organized and understood."[43] Place names in the Pinelands National Reserve allow us to see not only how environmental phenomena are organized, but, through stories attached to the place-names, how people organize the social world and its past.

Place-naming is an ongoing activity, and many places are layered and cross-cut with the names that different groups of users bestow on them. The personalities of places are fixed in place names that fuse people, events, and localities. Like vernacular names for plants and animals, place names are cultural artifacts, redolent with history and biography as anthropologist Edward Bruner observes:

> Once a feature of the landscape is named, it is thereafter marked as a special place and distinguished from the unlabeled earth and rock and vegetation that surround it. Without at least a name, there would be no culturally significant site, just raw natural environment . . . But to attach a story to a site does so much more . . . Stories introduce a temporal dimension, making sites the markers of the experiences of groups and historical periods, not just markers of space . . . The permanence of the site becomes an anchor for an elusive story.[44]

The renaming of places should thus be of special concern to planners. We know for example that developers in the region try to name developments after local themes: "Cranberry Hill," "Oak Hill," "West Woods," "Oak Hollow," "Lenape Shores," and "Quail Hill," for example. But these are not autochthonous place names marking the coalescence of communal experience and locale. They actually mask the older places, and sever the connections between places and their curators. Place names are, in fact, historical lodestones, laden in the minds of local people with images of the past.

Nora Rubinstein observed in her final report that people have difficulty maintaining a sense of history when neighborhoods and their names are drastically altered. Steve Soviczki, whose ancestral homestead is now a development, expressed chagrin over the extent of the changes near Atco:

> This was the old entrance into where my great grandfather was born. This area was known as the Horner place and my great-great grandmother was given this piece of property by her father and she lived in a log cabin home and had seven children. And my great grandfather, Isaiah, was born in this place, the log cabin. His grandfather's name was Isaac. They developed it . . . this is all sort of newly laid out. No, it's completely different . . . You'd think they would have named it Horner Place, or something after the original name of the area. (October 10, 1983, RNR002)

"What happens to the older names?," Mary Hufford asked Richard Gille, the zoning officer for Lacey Township.

"They disappear," responded Gille. "Who would be there to relate?"

He was poring over a topographic map of the township. "Let me show you where I was born," he added.

> There's a foundation there where I was born, and when I was a kid, the train used to stop here to pick up water, and there was a small little stop house—there wasn't actually a station. We called that Ostrum. But only somebody like me or Johnny Parker or Cliff Frazee would know if I said "Ostrum" that I was talkin' about that. That was right along the railroad. The train that ran there was steam and they had to pick up the water there. So they called that part of town Ostrum, and when I was a kid, we said we didn't live in Forked River, we lived in Ostrum. But only I would know that, and a handful of natives. (September 23, 1983, AMH008)

Developers from outside the region are permitted to rename places because they have purchased the real estate. A piece of real estate, however, is not necessarily a place, and its place name is not the same as the indigenous name given by people with responsibility for the communal past.

"Webby was great for naming places," said Jack Davis, "Clarence Webb. He's the one come out with Lightnin' Point,' cause of this tree that was hit with Lightnin'. That's known as Lightnin' Point nowadays by the older people. (September 19, 1983, RMH010)

Efforts to formally designate places in the woods may lead to frustration, as Joe Albert, an octogenarian woodsman, discovered:

> The main corner up here by the fire tower, I named that Star Tree Corner—it's like a star. I always keep paintin' signs and nailin' 'em up there, and guys steals 'em!... I put it there so it'd keep that name, you know—the younger ones don't follow things up like that. Now they tell me that sign is down by a little camp on the hill.[45]

Wilderness-seekers might be startled by signs in the woods. Yet they are also partly defined as a community by their own shared system of place names.

"Do you have names for the sections you hunt?" Mary Hufford asked a member of the Spartan Gun Club in Chatsworth. He was incredulous. "How can you name anything like that? It's in the woods!" Yet, as it turned out, the hunters did have names for places. "You know, you might have like the Double Dirt Road or Big Hill or Sandy Ridge," one hunter reflected.

"Down by the Crooked Tree," another confirmed, "two or three deadfall trees together: Down by the Big Deadfall." (November 17, 1983, RMH039)

One place may, of course, bear several names at once. Near Woodmansie there is a place that the older local people call "The Clay Pits." The lakes left there by an extractive industry now are called "Hidden Lakes" by the recreational vehicle users who gather there each weekend from points as far as fifty miles away. Children living in lake communities also play at frontiering, as people did more than half a century ago. Their worlds are not as large, but they are as diversified as adult woodlands, which comprise for them the chaotic unknown. Frank Day, 13, of Lebanon Lakes, identified Hidden Lakes as a scary place: "The kids said all these guys go back there and chase them... probably Pineys. Hunters—wild hunters." (September 19, 1983, RMH017) Their landmarks: "The Old Pine Tree" or "The Rotten Out Tree"—a tree with a hole in it that squirrels live in.

Like tides with place names bobbing in them, each generation washes over the region, and sometimes the names stick, serving, like the advice of older people, as landmarks for future generations. Ed Hazelton spoke of how a good place for fishing and duckhunting was handed down

> from father to son, father to grandson, and keep right on going... It might be the cross-channel, it might be a little curb in the channel where the fish would come up and hit the curb and start feedin' along the bank... Now I used to go down the bay and I would take the Brant Beach Theater and I would line that up with the Southwest Point of Bonnet Island and then I would come right over until I took two points on the east side of Thorofare Island. I'd get these lined up over there and I'd get these lined up over here—this is a true one, this is a good one—drop anchor, and there I'd be. See? My daddy taught me. (January 23, 1986, AMH001)

Thus categorical forms and places become important elements in local systems of landscape interpretation and stewardship.

Meadows near the mouth of the Mullica River. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83CJC046-09.)

Four-wheeling at Hidden Lakes, also known as The Clay Pits, in an abandoned quarry near Woodmansie. (Photograph by Mary Hufford. 83BMH215421-05-10.)

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Way-Finding

Way-finding, while it is not so-called, is an admired skill. The ability to navigate with confidence through a monotonous sea of scrub oak and dwarf pine is the hallmark of good woodsmen, who often serve as guides for deer hunters. "I'm a woodsman," said Davis,

> A woodsman likes the woods and stays in 'em . . . You know what I call a good woodsman? Johnny Earlin. Good woodsman. I'll tell you why. He can be on a gravel road, fox huntin,' and if he knew there was another gravel road—now this was at night—he'd say, "I'll meet you over on the other road. I'll drive the truck and get over there, and here come Johnny walkin' out. When you can get through them places in the night, then's when you're a good woodsman.[46]

This apt imagining of the unseen aspects of the land is a prerequisite to husbandry or stewardship. It is related to the "way-finding" that, according to Kevin Lynch, is "the original function of the environmental image and the basis on which its emotional associations may have been founded." He says:

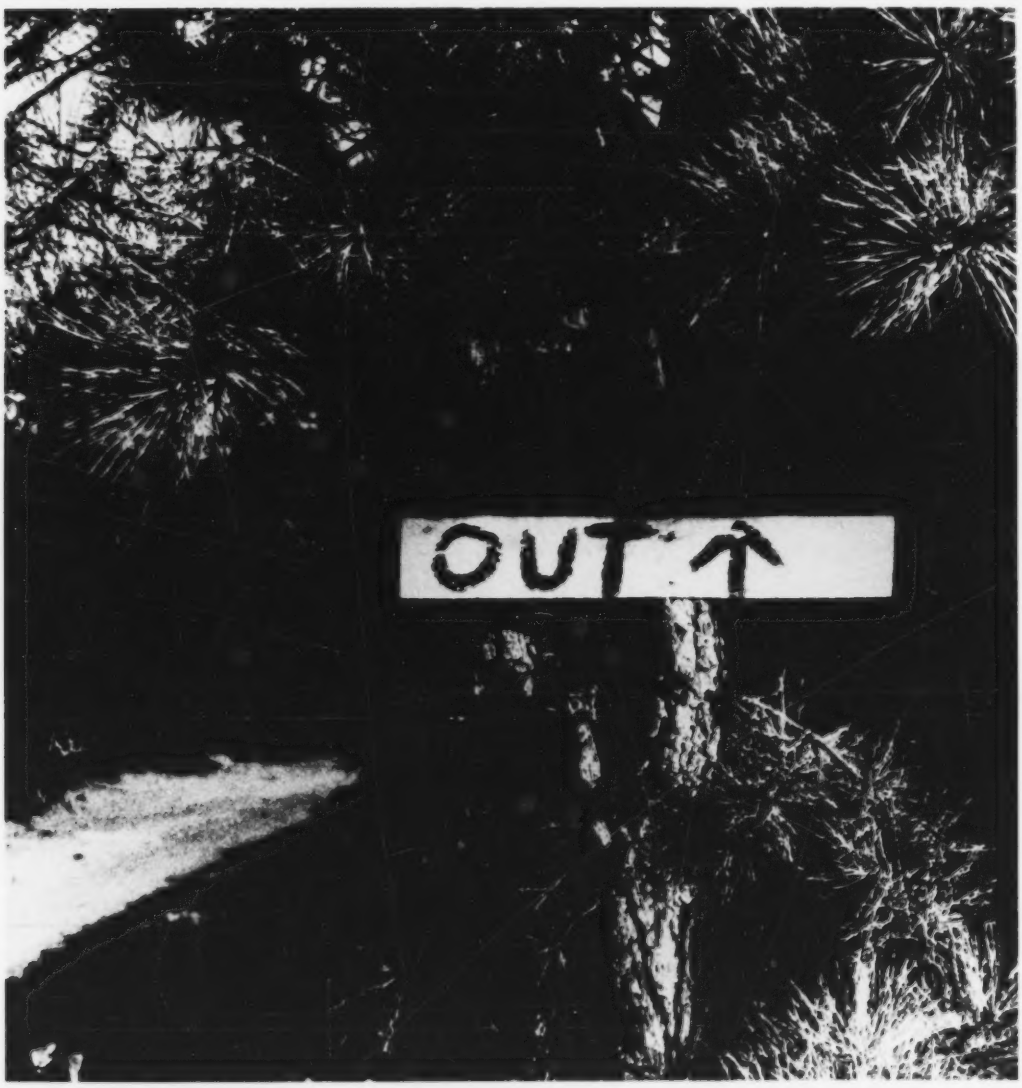
> But the image is not only useful in this immediate sense in which it acts as a map for the direction of movement; in a broader sense it can also serve as a general frame of reference within which the individual can act or to which he can attach his knowledge. In this way it is like a body of belief or a set of social customs: it is an organizer of facts and possibilities.[47]

In stories about getting lost we discover how people learn to distinguish the woodlands terrain. "Years ago," said Jack Davis,

> I got lost due to the fact that I didn't know the woods. Dad and I was deer huntin' and I took a walk up the road and went on. I didn't know that the head of the swamp was up there, and I went up and come around him on the other side. Do you know, I went down in that swamp and I walked it all the way back to the bridge, and halfway there I knew the place to cross it, but you know, I just couldn't get myself together to know what I done. So when I finally got back, oh, I was gone three or four hours. Dad says, "Where *was* ya?" I told him what happened, and he started to laugh. He says, "You know what happened?" I says, "No, I don't know what happened." He says, "That swamp *heads* up there, and you went right around the head."[48]

An understanding of the interrelations between uplands and lowlands, and of the complex system of watersheds that run off in three different directions is crucial to way-finding. "See," Davis elaborated:

> If you're in a piece of woods where you know where you're at, you can tell by the direction of the waterflow, because water don't change. For that, you gotta go by watershed... You go up here to Fort Dix, and the water goes over towards Burlington. The water in Brown's Mills goes to Camden.[49]



Sign near Sheep Pen Hill Road, in Pemberton. (Photograph by Sue Samuelson. 83BSS216651-02-01.)

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John McPhee marveled at the wayfinding skills of Bill Wasiowich, a woodsman/gatherer living in Woodmansie:

> When he is not working in the bogs, he goes roaming, as he puts it . . . hiking about thirty miles in a typical day, in search of what he calls "events"—surprising a buck, or a gray fox, or perhaps a poacher or a man with a still. Almost no one who is not native to the pines could do this, for the woods have an undulating sameness, and the understory . . . is often so dense that a wanderer can walk in a fairly tight circle and think that he is moving in a straight line.[50]

Like other ways of observing nature, this "searching for events," is tied to the region's storytelling impulse—the wellspring of its collaborative image. James Moss notes:

> Any landscape experienced is experienced both individually and communally. Each individual creates and hears his or her own image, but there seems to be substantial agreement among members of the same group. . . . These images have "careers in time—histories of their own."[53]

The image of a recreational user who does not work in the region may not have the high resolution that a woodsman's image has. One deer hunter commented:

> I was tellin' you about how wild it is, how thick it is. People can get lost very easily here . . . We're pretty organized when we go in. We keep track of each other . . . All our drives are planned ahead of time.By landmarks. The guy nearest the road calls to the guy next to him. Everybody moves in accordance with the voice: (demonstrating) Yo! Yo Buck! If you're bearing off to the left, everybody guides off. (November 19, 1983, RMH046)

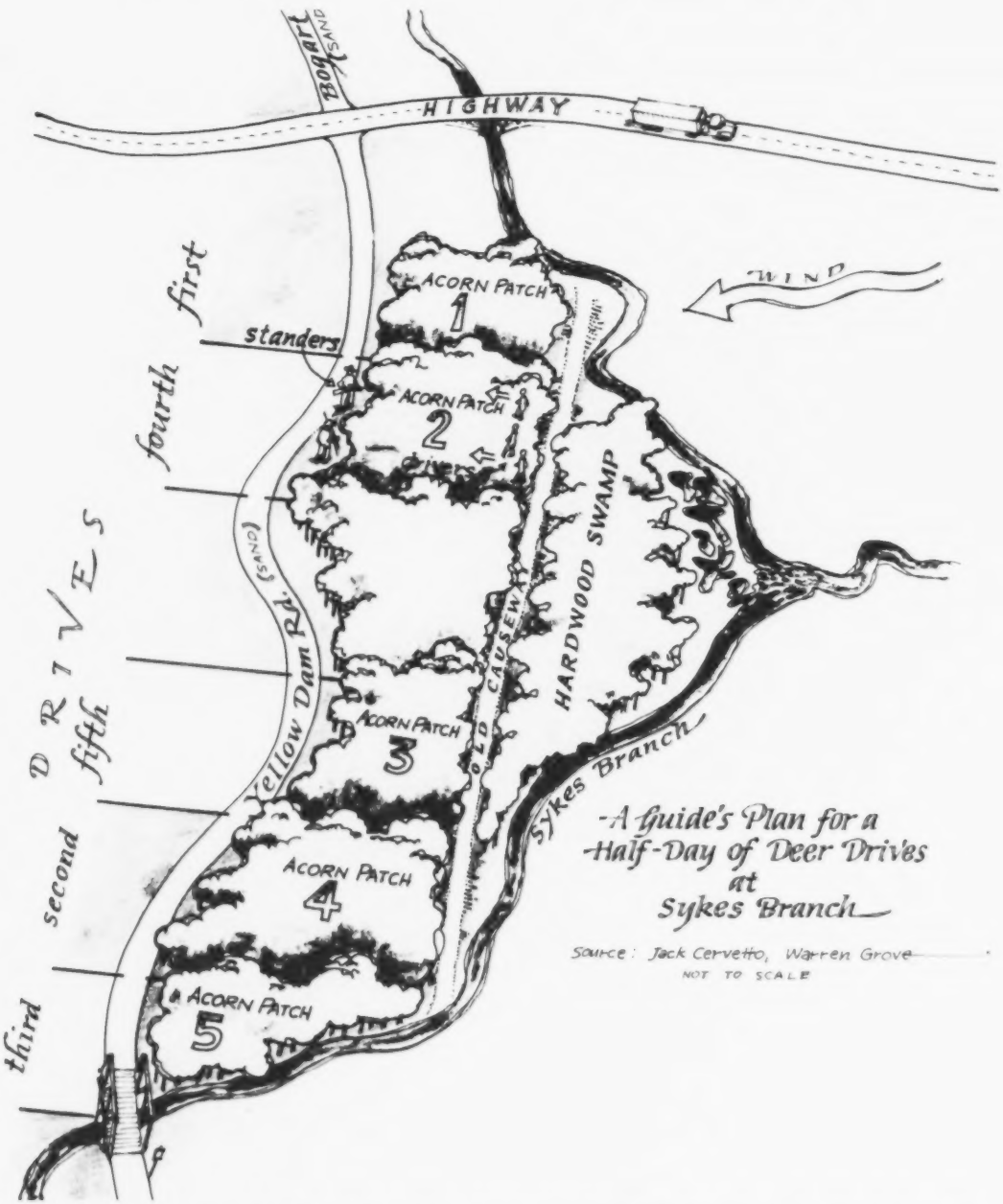
Jack Cervetto, who guides for deer hunters each year in December, plans his drives in the preceding fall months, surveying the scrub oaks to locate the best acorn patches:

> Most all guides, before deer season, they have to go and look to see where the acorn crop is—see, in most years, it don't grow everywhere. There's oak everywhere, but it seems acorns grow in patches . . .
> The deer live right there where the acorns are, and that's where you manage your drives ahead of time. You look the area over, see where your openings are, how you can form your drive, and you mark that all down. A good guide will have the drives all made up before deer season. (January 23, 1986)

Cervetto, who as a boy moved to Warren Grove from North Jersey, learned to be a guide from Buck Holloway, years before Holloway became his father-in-law. He relates:

> My training was with my wife's father. He was a great guide, a great hunter. He was born up there in the woods, and I used to go with him as a young

fellow, and help him set out the men. He'd take the drivers and give me the standers, and tell me where to place 'em and all that, and when he got too old to do it, then I took over some of the clubs. I had a Plainfield club, a South Amboy club, and a South Jersey club down to Elmer. (January 23, 1986)



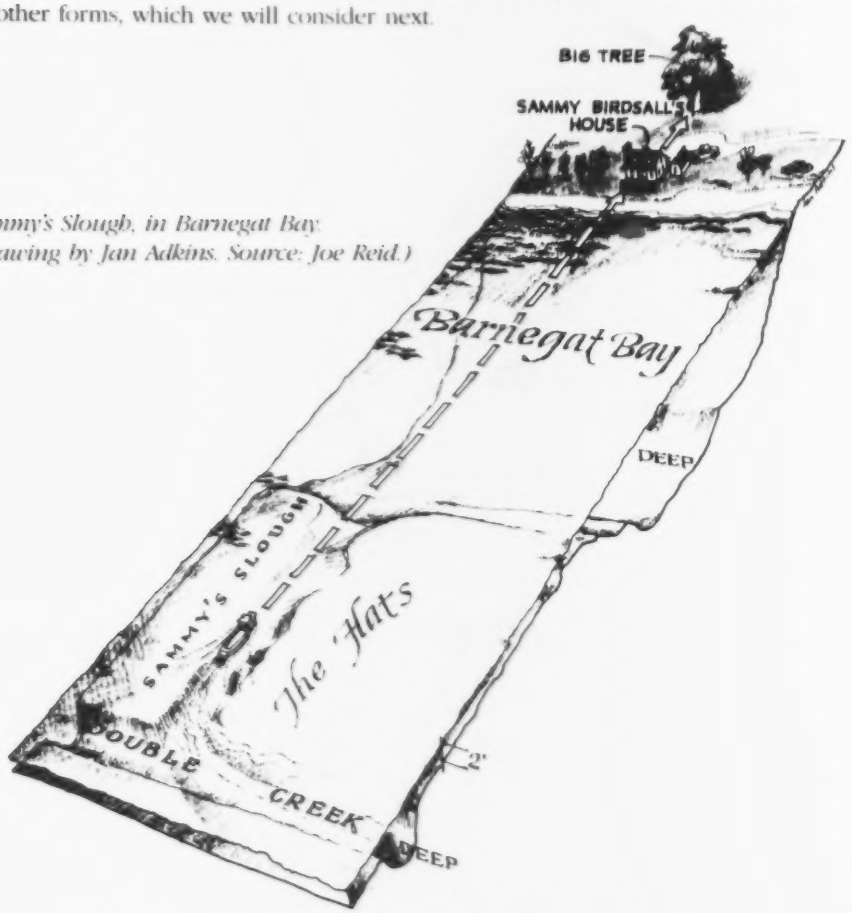
Jack Cervetto's plan for a half-day of deer drives, laid out along Sykes's Branch in Woodland Township, exploits categorical landscape features that are cultural, natural, historic and contemporary. (Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Jack Cervetto.)

The maps of bay bottoms are just as detailed in the minds of baymen as the mental maps of woodsmen, incorporating the small and unmarked channels as well as the deep channels dredged and staked by the state. Joe Reid recalled Horsefoot Slough, near Sedge Island, Buck's Slough, named for Old Man Buck Ridgway, Fishing Slough, Cooper Slough and Sammy's Slough. Sammy's Slough was named for Sammy Birdsall, and a bayman knew he was on it in the flats (a portion of the bay two feet deep) when from his view Sammy Birdsall's house on the shore was aligned with the tree behind it. (84FMH0405)

The bay, the shore, and the islands are irregular. Bay bottoms change over the decades. Channels fill in; islands disappear; storms obliterate docks; suburbs hide old landmarks. People working the bays and the meadows have to know the tides and the winds as well as the fixed points. This knowledge took generations to assemble, as Ed Hazelton pointed out:

> Down through the years, going back a couple hundred years, the old timers, they knew where the ducks were travelling, on what winds. So they passed the word on to me. They said, "Ed, when the wind's southeast, you want to gun such-and-such a point. Now when the wind's northwest, you want to gun such-and-such a point. The ducks'll be travellin' there. The wind'll be pushin' them over. It's gonna make them pay over. You want to be there tomorrow." ... It's hard to put it in words in a few minutes—what you've learned in a lifetime or somebody else's lifetime too. (January 23, 1986, AMH001)

The knowledge that Hazelton finds difficult to convey in words is, in fact, eloquently expressed in other forms, which we will consider next.



Sammy's Slough, in Barnegat Bay.
(Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Joe Reid.)

Recitation and Song

Folklife expressions survive because they are applicable. One of the oldest traditional applications for folklife expressions has been pedagogical. Capt. Lou Peterson's grandfather, for example, encapsulated his navigating lessons in stories and rhymes. Peterson recalled:

> I'd be back in the wheelhouse with Grandpop and he'd be tellin' me tales. Actually, he was teachin' me. He couldn't read nor write, but he could count and he knew what he was doin', and he had poems that was his way of rememberin' your nautical terms for if your boat was dead ahead or goin' away from you or whatever it would be... I can't really remember them, but it would be combinations of lights,such as: "If a red and green and white you see, then on your left he'll be." (October 22, 1983, RJL017)

Folklife expressions thus perform an important function in recycling the knowledge and values of past generations. They tie past, present, and future together. Other original compositions convey images of and attitudes toward places.

Merce Ridgway, Jr., of Lanoka Harbor is noted as one of the few baymen who continue to make their entire living from the bay. He also is known for his song compositions, some of which clearly celebrate the life of the independent bayman, like these excerpts from "The Clamdigger" (which Ridgway sings to the tune of "Frankie and Johnny"):

> Now, some people think a clamdigger, he's got it mighty fine,
> Riding along in his old work boat in the good old summertime,
> Yeah, he's sure got it fine, he goes all the time. Now if you should chance
> to go closer, you'll see that he's wrinkled and lined,
> From the rain and the snow, the winds that blow, but he doesn't seem to mind,
> Yeah, he's sure got it fine, he goes all the time.
> Now if you should look in his kitchen, after the day is through,
> Chances are he's a musician, and he'll sing a song for you,
> It's a beautiful day, out on Barnegat Bay.
> (November 20, 1983, RMH055)

Ridgway performs his compositions not while he is working on the bay, but on Saturday nights to audiences that include outsiders as well as other baymen.

In contrast we have the songs of the workplace. In every instance we heard about, they are sung by migrant workers— including the Italians who used to pick cranberries at Whitesbog, the Mexicans who pick peaches for the Lamonacas in Hammonton, the Puerto Ricans who harvest cranberries for the Lees in Chatsworth, and the Black oyster shuckers and menhaden fishermen in Port Norris.

The work shanties that menhaden fishermen sang into the 1950s exemplify the use of a characteristically Afro-American musical form, the call-and-response pattern, to synchronize the movements of men, fish, boats and tides when hauling in the menhaden (*Brevoortia tyrannus*, locally called "bunkers"). For the most part, the introduction of mechanized purse seines and hydraulic pumps silenced the shanties of the Black fishermen who still live in Port Norris. Until the mid-1950s most bunkers were hauled out of the sea by Black men in striker boats. The work was brutally hard, for menhaden swim in densely packed schools, and a single haul could weigh several tons.

Three dozen men in three striker boats would surround the school with a purse seine, drop the weight (the "tom") to close the bottom, and then haul the fish up to the boat. They synchronized their pulling so that all would be pulling together with their fingers moving simultaneously through three different leases in the net, the "bunting," the "webbing," and the "twine." It was easy to spot a menhaden fisherman, according to Joe Gibbs of Port Norris, for the skin was split to the bone on his finger joints. "Their skin used to be split open and raw," Gibbs recalled, "from the brine they used to preserve the nets. They'd sing to ease the tension and lift these fish. (October 23, 1982, ARM001)

Menhaden fishermen had to work quickly to "harden" the net before the fish were smothered or crushed, because if the fish stopped jumping their dead weight was impossible to raise. Thus the rise and fall of the tide worked its way into the rhythms of the shanties. Robert Ames of Port Norris recalled:

> There's no way in the world that thirty-two men can raise eighty ton of fish, unless they do it in a way that the sea helps them. You know what they say? When you're down there holdin' on, they say, "hold on, boys," say, "wait a minute," say, "the sea'll give it to you." After awhile she'll go down on a swell. She'll lighten up. (February 19, 1983, RMH001)

The shanties gave the men the power to lift tons of fish, according to Ames, and a good shanty "blower" was worth his weight on any striker boat. He had to be experienced and therefore older. Said Ames:

> You know what a shanty man is? A shanty man is just someone on the boat that's old and knows how to make rhythms for you—and make you feel good and make the work easier. He don't have to be no captain, he don't have to be no mate. Just somebody with a lot of experience that likes to sing. (February 19, 1983, RMH001)

Songs like "Evelina," "Drinkin' That Wine," and "Old Bad Lazarus" are earthier than their musical cognates in the churches, but they are formally related to them and to Afro-American work songs in other settings. The form itself survives as a cultural resource even after technological advances have culled it from the striker boats. Robert Lee Hamon reported that he and his friends occasionally sing a shanty when they are trying to pull a car out of the mud. Outside of a work situation, however, he said, it is difficult to sing shanties.

There is a further relationship to be noted between the folklife expression and its environment. The shanties sometimes dealt obliquely with the exigencies of the fishermen's social situation. A good shanty leader could improvise in his songs, invoking justice, for example, on the much-resented captain and his mate:

> Captain, don't you see? Dark cloud rising over yonder—
> Sign of rain, Lord, Lord, sign of rain.
> Captain don't you know? The whole damn crew is goin' to leave you?
> Sign of rain, Lord, Lord, sign of rain.
> (February 19, 1983, RMH001)

Similarly, Black workers in the oyster shucking houses rely on their gospel music for relief in otherwise difficult circumstances. Like other migrant workers in the region, they have little control over the land and its resources or their station on it. They are not celebrating their work, but they are enhancing their environment:

> What we're tellin' you is what we got from our foreparents.We've always been the downtrodden ones, and if you go to a job and it didn't suit you he'd tell you, "Well, get the so-and-so offa my property." What were you gonna do? The people had large families. You just had to stay there. The times was hard. You're disgusted, you're hurt, tryin' to support your children and whatnot, you begin to sing to ease and lift the burden. (November 23, 1982, ARM001)

It is no coincidence that the songs are generally the same as the hymns that Black congregations sing in church on Sunday throughout the region, hymns that speak of a better time in the world to come, such as "There's a Great Day Coming," "Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross," and "Precious Lord." Yet while the words seem unrelated to the work and the environment, in contrast to "The Clamdigger's Song," the singing tradition has served as a resource for organizing both the environment and some of the natural species within it, including *Homo sapiens*. Writing of the oyster shuckers in Southern Maryland, folklorist Paula Johnson suggests that the environment the workers recreated through their singing became a more important end than getting the job done:

Mrs. Reta Lawson directing the gospel chorus of the Second Baptist Church in Manitou Park, South Toms River. (Photograph by Carl Fleischhauer. 83BCF216448-01-26.)

> While the singing brought the workers together, it also separated them from others in the workplace hierarchy. White managers were never participants in this expressive dimension of work. Not only were the songs and singing style of a different cultural tradition, but so was the act of communal singing at work . . . It is not surprising that the feeling of community generated in this work environment is the thing former shuckers say they miss most about the work. While originally this occupational folklife may have been a creative response to an undesirable situation, or an expressive mode for getting the job done, it remains as an important aspect of the workplace that is remembered with fondness by members of the group.[52]

Robert Lee Hamon and Robert Ames also commented that they missed the shanty singing though they did not miss the work. Their singing attracted audiences out on the water—yachting parties that would draw closer in order to watch and listen. Their sounds on the water were, for all concerned, an essential part of the place's character.

Story and Legend

Ann Davis prized the time she could spend with her grandchildren in the woods, teaching them to hunt and to find their way. She told them stories:

> I'd have to make up stories for them. The Jersey Devil. Every night, "Grandmom, tell us about the Jersey Devil." A lot of people say they saw him, but he was a different creature every time he was told about. One fella said he fell asleep by a tree and the Jersey Devil come up and stood by him. And some people say he was built like a horse, with a devil's head and a devil's tail. One had deer's hoofs. And it would kill stock. I've never saw him, but I've heard plenty of stories. (September 19, 1985, RMH008)

The Jersey Devil legend is not static. It continues to develop, and to vivify life in the region. It has a life of its own, beyond the accounts that routinely appear in books and newspaper articles. Skepticism is intrinsic to its telling, as it is to every legend. (53) "I don't think anybody's ever saw him," said Jack Davis. The tension between belief and skepticism keeps the legend alive. "I've seen pieces in the paper where people said they positively saw him," insisted Ann. But her husband maintained his ground: "I was around a good many days, and never saw him."

Ann continued: "Some had him from his legs up he was human, and the back of him was an animal. Others had it where he had feet. But the woman that had him in the family claimed he come to them one time. Where he was born, I've heard, but I've heard too many different places." (September 19, 1985, RMH008)

"Everybody has stories about the Jersey Devil, here in the woods," said Lebanon State Forest superintendant Christian Bethmann.

> It's a common thing. In fact, we had a ranger years ago, one of the rangers actually sent in a report about the Jersey Devil. It was sort of tongue in cheek, but there was a group at that time, of Cub Scouts, and the initiation of these Cub Scouts was to bring them camping and have an appearance of the Jersey Devil while they're sitting around telling stories. . . . A fellow would dress up in a costume. The same group has come back every year and they used to have, every Memorial Day, an appearance of the Jersey Devil. This past year they didn't do it, but the one before that they did. And it had gotten so big that they'd have 200 people out there listening to this guy tell the story and then the Jersey Devil would make his appearance and disappear in a flash. (September 21, 1983, AMH005)

The legend is also attached to the landscape of the fire- climax forest. Once during a forest fire a man took a picture of a site where four men lost their lives fighting the fire minutes before. He gave the picture to his uncle, George Heinrichs of New Gretna, who showed it to Elaine Thatcher. A shadowy form may be discerned in the smoke above the trees. Heinrichs helped Thatcher to see the shoulders, horns, and face that some people say is the Jersey Devil. Heinrichs himself remains skeptical. "I call it a smoke phenomenon," he said. (83FET1001)

It is beside the point whether the creature exists or not, and whether or not people actually believe in him. Clearly the legend is not yet finished.

Photograph taken by New Gretna fire fighter Renard Wiseman. Some people say that the face of the Jersey Devil is outlined in the smoke. (Copy photograph by Mal O'Connor 83CM0012-01. Original photograph in possession of George and Catherine Heinrichs, New Gretna.)

Craftsmanship: Critical Canons and Flexible Forms

Some expressions are certainly more powerful and more significant than others. When we see a substantial amount of *metacommentary* attached to a practice or form, we know it is significant. Metacommentary,—that is, commentary *about* the forms,—takes on a variety of forms itself. A clammer painting a picture of garveys at work on the bay, a boat builder making miniature boats, and a bayman singing a song about himself singing are all portraying in heightened ways things that are significant to them. Such expressions framing the traditional forms assure us that clamming, boatbuilding, and music are significant in local life and thought.

There is a body of evaluative commentary, a critical canon that workers develop collectively and bring to bear on their work, whereby they impose a kind of quality control on each other through a system of praise and criticism. Thus Ed Hazelton distinguished between "builders" and "craftsmen" of New Jersey garveys—(blunt-ended workboats used in the bays). A "builder," inattentive to details, might produce a "hairy garvey"—one that is unsanded and comes out looking "like a crew cut" beneath its paint job. A craftsman, on the other hand, attends to every detail, drilling a hole for each nail, for example, to prevent cracks that eventually widen into leaks.

The same system of critiquing enables us to recognize the "shapes" of more amorphous expressions like woodsmanship, oyster shucking, or duck hunting. For example, the oyster industry developed its pool of migrant labor among the Black workers who followed the oyster booms from one town to another on the Middle Atlantic coast, to work in the shucking houses. This situation brought workers together from Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and New Jersey.

A person divulges something of his background by the way he shucks his oysters. People from Virginia are accustomed to the long, thin oysters, called "hotdogs" or "snaps" in Southern Maryland.[54] They "break" their oysters open by smashing the bill. People from Maryland learned to open oysters that are short and round. They separate the two shells by "stabbing" the knife in between them.

Hence there are two kinds of oyster shuckers in South Jersey: stabbers and breakers. "I'd want my back to the breaker," said Beryl Whittington, of Port Norris, who stabs his oysters, as he put it, "straight out…because the breaker throws a lot more mud. Sometimes the shell from a breaker will pop you upside the head." Oysters are very hard to open, and an adept oyster-shucker is respected. Oyster-shucking contests are frequently featured at local events like firehouse suppers. Because no two oysters are alike, there will probably never be an oyster-shucking machine.

Ed Hazelton describes the environmental acuity and perfectionism that made his brother-in-law, Paul Cramer, an artful duck hunter:

> He was the type of fella that thought like a duck. He thought like a duck. He just knew every move they were gonna make. In other words, we'd sit there, gunning, and have the stools out, and in would come some ducks. And they wouldn't come just the way he wanted 'em. Just exactly right. You *could* kill 'em, but he says, "they gotta do better than that." And he would go out and he'd take this stool here and put it there, and this stool here and set it back there, and the next time they'd almost light in your lap.…He just thought like a duck all the time.He knew…when there would be a lid on the bay…and that the ducks would come in to feed in the ponds before the freeze. (November 4, 1983, RTC005)

Hazelton's brother-in-law was an artist who was able to create an impression that would attract ducks. His artistry was certainly less publically recognized than the artistry of decoy carvers. The craft of the carver and the craft of the gunner are two different things. The skill of the gunner resides in his ability to judge and manipulate a variety of factors, including wind direction, temperature, the tide, and his position relative to the sun. The widespread use of the duck decoy as a symbol of folk art complicates our ability to evaluate decoy carvers.

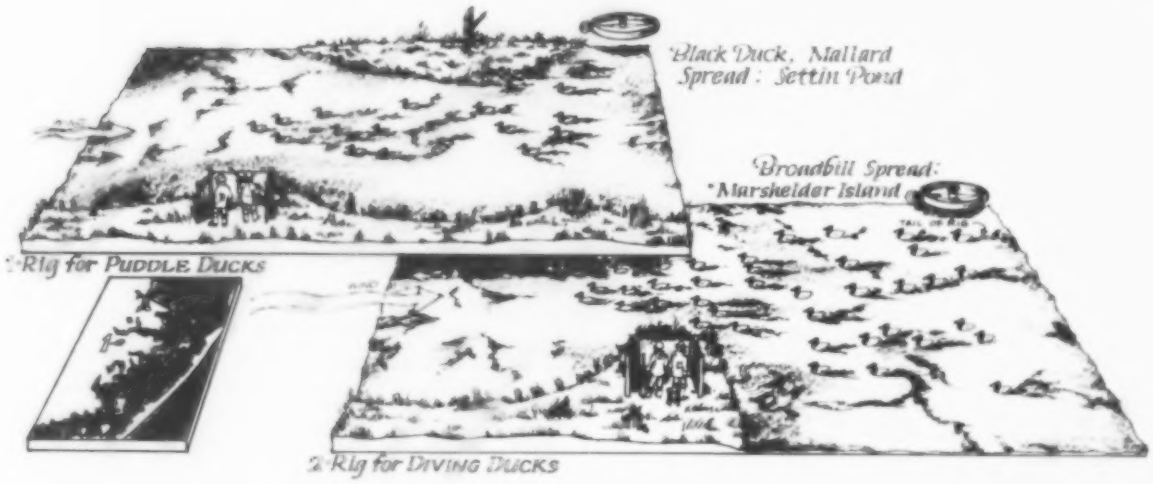
Strictly speaking, ducks do not require elaborate imitations of themselves. "A good feeding ground is the best decoy you can get," said Hurley Conklin. Other strategies succeed: clumps of sod thrown on the ice at night resemble a flock of feeding ducks, as do plastic milk cartons, weighted and darkened. But the men who made working decoys from scraps of cedar took pleasure in imitating nature. The greatest satisfaction came from being in the meadows, as Conklin put it, "in your own neat little sneakbox, with a new gun, and your own well-made decoys all around you in the water."

Harry Shourds, of Seaville, blending in with a bank in his sneakbox at Beesley's Point. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald. 84BDM2P0600-01_26.)

The Barnegat Bay decoy, perhaps South Jersey's most famous contribution to the folk art world, evolved as hunters tried by various means to bring migrating ducks within shooting range. Decoys in the Barnegat region imitate ducks that fall into two broad groupings: "open-bay" or "diver" ducks, such as buffleheads, mergansers, canvasbacks, redheads, and broadbills; and "marsh" or "puddle" ducks, including black ducks, mallards, green-winged teal, blue-winged teal, and pintails.

The rule of thumb in making and setting decoys is to dispel nervousness in the duck. Thus shiny paints and white primers are not used, and attention is paid to how the decoy sits in the water. The hallmark of the Barnegat decoy is its dugout body, which local tradition links with the sneakbox. Hollowed-out decoys do not overburden the tiny skiff. The roundness of the skiff camouflages it, because its own shadow will not betray it the way the shadow of a flat-sided boat can.

Decoy afficionados distinguish subregional styles among carvers: the Parkertown style (derived from Lloyd Parker) the New Gretna style, the "head of the bay" style, and the Tuckerton style, associated with Harry Shourds. Shourds, who lived in the early part of this century and who is said to have carved thousands of decoys, is legendary. Ed Hazelton, who carves decoys himself, recounted a well-known story about Shourds to Tom Carroll and Nora Rubinstein. Shourds, he said, "could sit down in a barber's chair for a shave and whittle a duck's head beneath the apron while the barber worked on him, and emerge with a shave and a completed head." (November 4, 1983, RTC004)



1. Black duck mallard (or puddle duck) spread used at the Settin Pond. (Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Ed Hazelton.)

2. Broadbill (or diving duck) spread used on Marshelder Island. (Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Ed Hazelton.)

Each carver leaves his stamp on his work, partly due to his own interpretation of the local environment. Hurley Conklin's mergansers (locally called "sheldrakes") are unmistakable, as are Rube Corlies' black ducks. Ed Hazelton recalled Corlies' philosophy of carving, a formulaic attitude among sculptors: "The bird is in there—you have to release it." Ted Von Bosse reflected on the seemingly incidental nature of their artfulness: "They made them to hunt with, not as art, but there's art in those things, and there's shape and beauty in the old ducks that's just beyond belief." (September 21, 1983, RJL003)

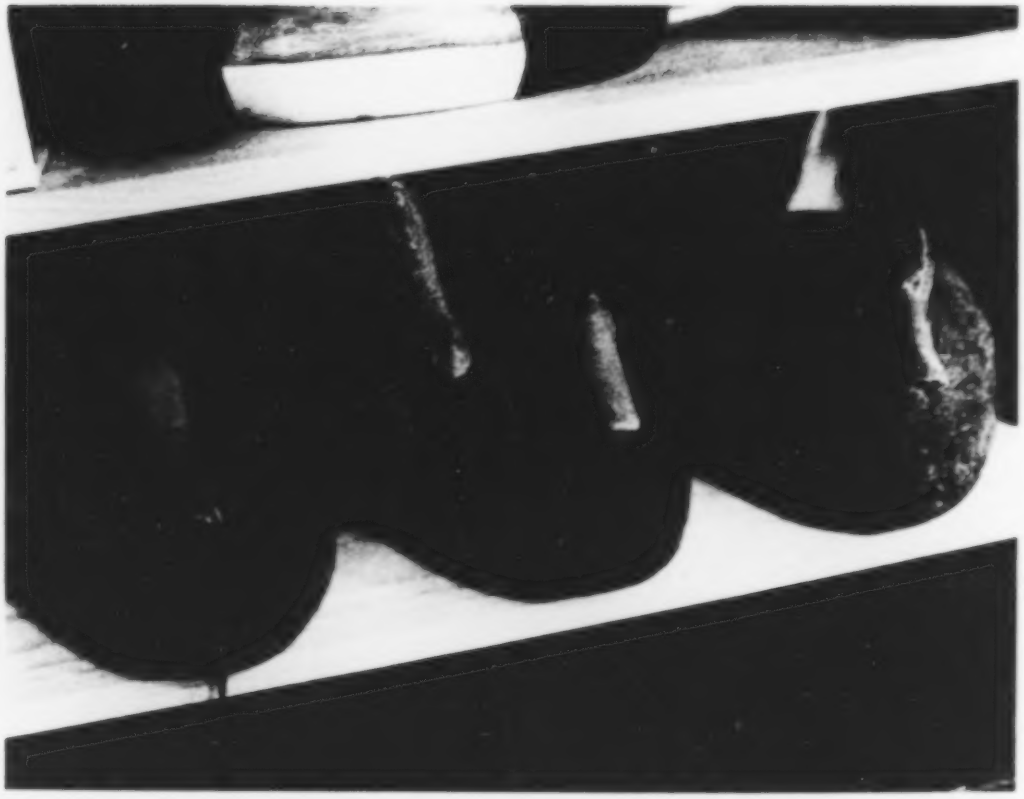
Fifty years ago realism in duck stools was not as important as it is to today's decorative carvers. "The challenge is to make nicer and nicer and fancier and fancier stuff," said Von Bosse. A story related by Robert Suralik of Tuckerton contains an ironic comment about what happened to working decoys when fancy carving became lucrative:

> I used to carve decoys, but I stopped carvin'. I used to hunt over them. I used to paint them so precisely that they looked like real ducks…And one day I was duck hunting, and when I got up to shoot, they all flew away and they took my decoys with them![55]

Hand-carved decoys these days are more for luring collectors than ducks. They stand for the artfulness of those working decoys that stood for ducks. As Hazelton observed, most carvers nowadays will not live to fill their orders. Although Hazelton has hunted since he was ten, he used to buy his decoys from "commercial" carvers. He only began to carve within the last decade, and he sees it as something that a lot of local men get an urge to do when they are older. "Now I know a lotta guys, like myself, that have gunned over decoys all our lives, and never thought about carvin'. Now all of a sudden, it's in the air, it's come into its own or somethin'." (November 4, 1983, RTC004)

Carvers like Hurley Conklin straddle both worlds. His decoys began as hunting accessories. When he started carving at the age of 14 he might have bought a working decoy for a dollar from Joe Tom Cranmer of Manahawkin, from Brody Salmons of Staffordville, or from Shourds himself. But he did not have the money, so he borrowed an iron spoke shave from Ike Taylor, a coffin maker in Cedar Run. Sherwood Corlies commissioned him to make a dozen decoys and sold him the cedar. One of those decoys is still on Conklin's shelf. It is fifty years old. Now his orders are all for collectors. Although they will probably never be in the water, Hazelton pointed out that these representations of early working decoys and sneakboxes have to be carved of cedar. "That's our wood, Tom," he said to Tom Carroll.

Modern working decoys, however, are often made of cork, and those that are homemade are of special interest. Some of the spirit of the early hand-carved decoys has fled into cork decoys.



Cork black duck decoys by Ted Von Bosse, of Port Republic. (Photograph by Jens Lund. 83BJL215594-04-23.)

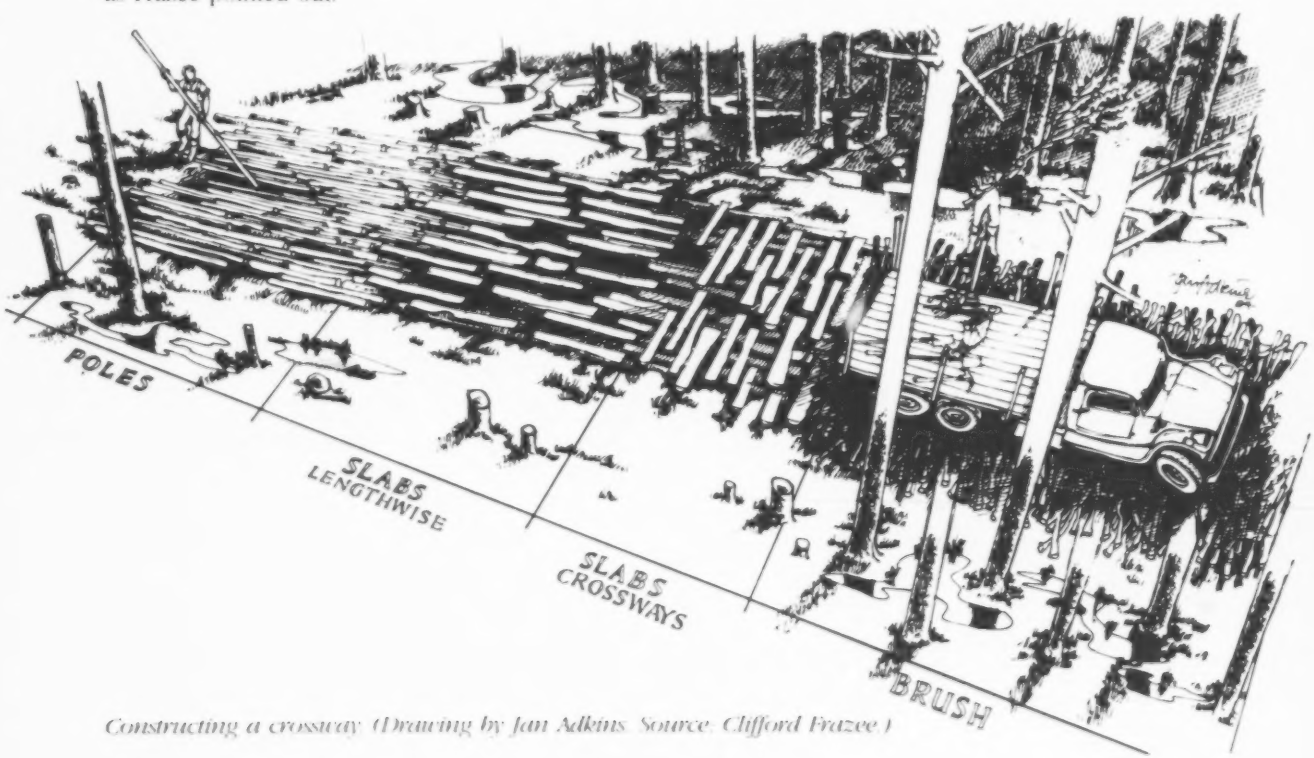
Cedar, which used to be available in scraps, is too costly and difficult to obtain in desirable amounts. Cork is cheap and easily shaped, with a rasp, into oversize decoys. Its density allows it to "swim" better than plastic. Cork decoys, like their cedar antecedents, are primarily aimed at the ducks. Von Bosse chars his cork decoys with a blow torch to give them a good black duck look. (RJL002, September 21, 1983) Thus decoy making, far from being a dying art, has much to tell us about the resilience of local knowledge and the response of craftsmen to the changing availability of resources and the shifting marketplace.

Recycled Tools, Technologies, and Symbols

The past is abundantly stored in material remains on the land. A look at how the past is retrieved from such remains suggests that some historic remains and traditional skills are repeatedly conserved through reuse.

The swamplands, for example, are riddled with crossways—pole roads constructed to aid the removal of cedar from the swamps. Such crossways, some of them more than two hundred years old, are apt to be recycled. Jack Cervetto claims he is the third white man to harvest the Oswego Swamp. "They used to say that all the crossways lead to Candlewood," he said. "That's where the first sawmill was."

Crossways, also known as causeways, corduroy roads, or pole roads, enable woodsmen to haul tons of cedar over mucky swampland. The term "causeway" also is applied to bridges, many of which were built in connection with the woodland industries. Most of them are not named on maps, though woodsmen know their names and whereabouts intimately. Frankie's Crossway, the oldest in those parts according to Cliff Frazee, was built around the end of the eighteenth century. One of the more recent, Collins' Crossway, is a bridge built by Clifford out of creosoted lumber capable of supporting fifty tons. It is so named because "Collins was a predominant name for woodspeople." The old roads provide instructions for new roads and for ways of managing cedar, as Frazee pointed out:



Constructing a crossway. (Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Clifford Frazee.)

> The old-timers did it that way. We put the brush on the crossway, and that holds the slabs in position. We leave the slabs right there and the cedar won't reseed in the road, and the trees'll grow up on both sides and meet at the top. I can show you a couple of places where it was cut off like that a hundred years ago. It's rotted out, but the trees don't grow up in it. The advantage is that it gives a tree five extra feet for growth. You should thin out cedar, but if you thin it too much the wind'll blow it over. We fall 'em all toward the crossway, and most of 'em fall right on it. You have to notch 'em just right to have 'em fall." (September 23, 1983, RMH012)

The landscapes of corduroy roads, charcoal pits, curly grass ferns, and pine barrens tree frogs are intimately intertwined.Woodsmen who removed sphagnum and turf from the swampy areas unintentionally produced the habitats favorable to today's rare and celebrated flora and fauna. Because the turf was used for insulating charcoal pits and for building cranberry bogs, turfing is no longer a common practice. Charcoal could not compete with the fuel from the Pennsylvania coal mines, and cranberry bogs are too expensive to develop from scratch. As Eugene Vivian pointed out, programs of land disturbance that involve removal of turf may have to be instituted in order to protect endangered plant species.[56]

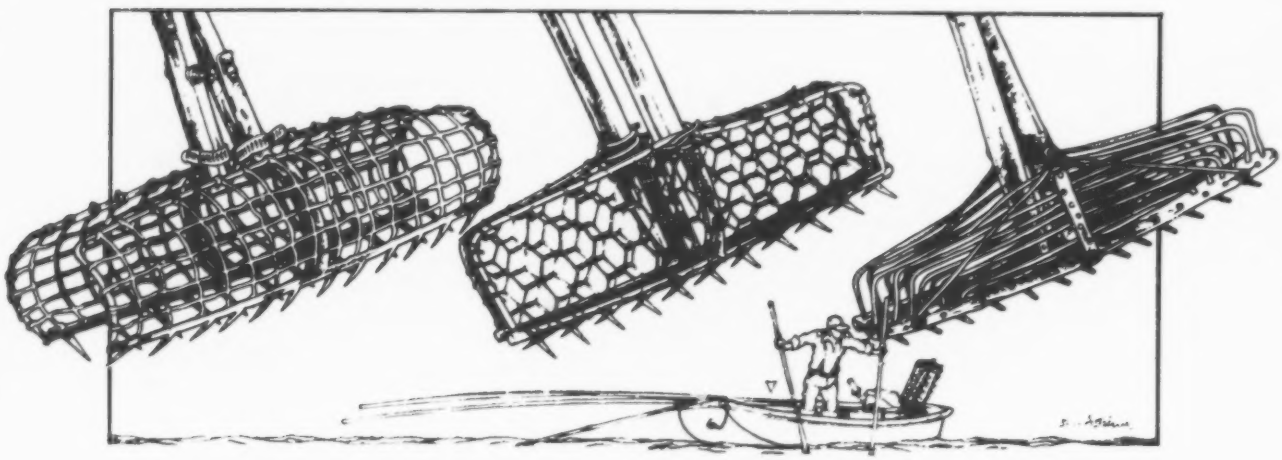
People continually mine the landscapes produced by the old industries for a sense of the past. Cliff Frazee stops to investigate barren spots near his pine tree farm in the Forked River Mountains. They are usually old charcoal pits, like the ones his grandfather made. Occasionally he excavates "butts" from them—pieces of charcoal, some with hundred-year-old axe kerfs in them, made by an earlier generation of woodsmen. Like many other woodspeople he has a large bottle collection, the legacy of the once dominant glass-making empire, and a window on the region's past.

In the same way, young boys have been known to scavenge in the meadows for old boats—interesting archeological resources that, like corduroy roads, have pedagogical functions. Lou Peterson recalled digging up an old abandoned boat from the meadow and, with a friend bailing, poling it along in the bay, where they hauled seine for pocket money. Joe Reid got some of his first practice as a boat builder working on a sneakbox he retrieved from the meadows. "My father knew it wasn't any good," he remembered, "but he let me work on it anyway. I never did get it afloat, but it was good practice for me." (October 22, 1983, RTC003)

Sense of place and past are fixed in the myriad tools and processes that have evolved for plying the land and harvesting its resources. For example, the body of maritime tools, if taken in its entirety, yields a remarkably thorough image of the place in its varied aspects at different seasons. Tools for clamming, oystering and eeling respond to the nuances of "bottom" below the region's diverse waters, some of them geological, some the result of seasonal changes.

Consider the use of winter and summer sails on Barnegat sneakboxes, the differentiation of eel spears for summer and winter use, and the kinds of heads used on clam and oyster tongs for different kinds of bottom: wooden heads, barrel heads, and keyport heads. Wooden heads are made of seasoned oak, with teeth of sawed- off steel pounded through. They are the best for soft bottom. "You can catch oysters with wooden heads when you can't catch anything but mud with the other ones," said Lou Peterson to Jens Lund. "You have to feel your tongs, and hold up on them, and you can pretty near feel the oysters goin' in." (October 22, 1983, RJL017)

Such tools are eloquent interpretations of the environmental image, which their makers and users may depict from a particular point of view. Rube Corlies' black duck decoys are unmistakable, according to Ed Hazelton, because of his effort to ice-proof them. Said Hazelton:



Barrel, keyport, and wooden heads, used in tonging for oysters and clams. (Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Capt. Lou Peterson.)

> You'll notice that Rube's ducks are high on the front, tufted breast from the bottom to the bill and the reason he made 'em that high was because in a blow, when the wind is blowing and your duck is dipping, and the temperature is falling, that bill will hit the water and it'll start to ice up, and the first thing you know you got an icicle about that long on the duck's bill. So as long as he could keep 'em high and keep 'em out of the water, he'd keep 'em from icing up just that much longer. (November 4, 1983. RTC005)

The perfected process is the product of many imaginations, sometimes facilitated by timely accidents. Local tradition credits Peg Leg John Webb, of Cassville, with the discovery that flooding the bogs in winter protects the evergreen cranberry vines from both frost and insects. He set his first vines in holes punched with his peg leg. Cliff Frazee reported an advanced version of this method, conceived by Acton Bunnell of Forked River. Bunnell's cranberry dodder consisted of a wheelbarrow with dowels spaced six inches apart on the wheel, substituting for Webb's prosthesis.

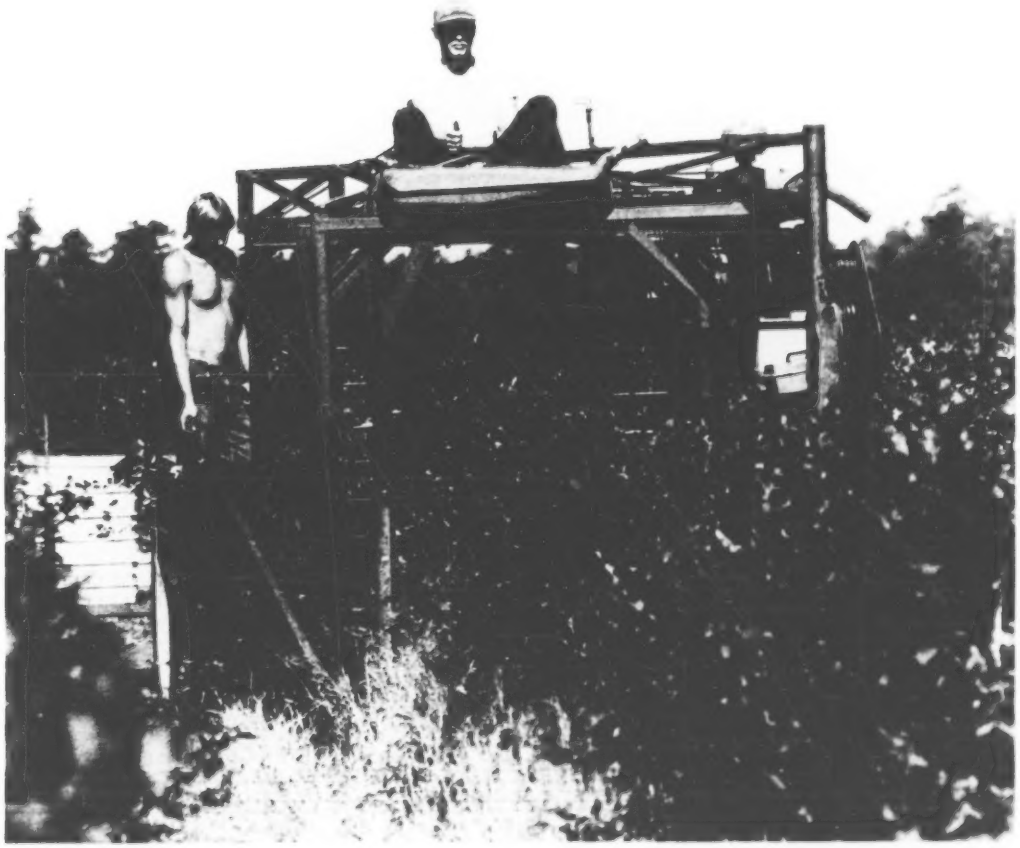
Each generation of cranberry growers has its own inventors. J. J. White, in addition to writing the accepted manual on cranberry culture, patented a number of devices for processing cranberries at Whitesbog. Tom Darlington, his grandson, invented the Darlington Dry Picker. Abbott Lee, of Speedwell, patented one of the wet harvesters in use in the region. The Lees and the Darlingtons are now in the process of developing floating pickers — essentially a new kind of work boat. Central to this free- flowing exchange of ideas is the local machinist, who gives their ideas form. "It's a very tight-knit industry in terms of all the locals," said Mark Darlington to Mal O'Connor:

> We can borrow equipment back and forth, and Dave Thompson, the local machinist, is fantastic at coming up with the stuff that my dad can conceive of. My dad will work out something and Dave will make it, and what'll happen is somebody'll hear about it and want to try it out. We'll loan it to 'em and they'll come back and say: "Well, we need these changes on it." Pretty soon some grower can go to Thompson and say: "Hey, look, I need thus-and-such," and he'll say, "okay, I made it this way for so-and-so, and you probably want the bigger wheels," and he can just make it up for 'em. And every year we change it, and he ends up doing the changes on it, and so he sort of keeps up on that and he doesn't even need drawings or anything. (November 18, 1983, AMH015)

Blueberry harvesters have run a similar course, from the homemade huckleberry knocker—a number ten can cut in half lengthwise and attached to a wooden handle that runs the length of it—to Darlington's mechanical picker. Both operate on the same principle: the berries are knocked into containers by jarring the branches. The mechanical picker, a tall, two-track vehicle that straddles a row of bushes and vibrates the blueberries into receiving plates, is tailor-made for New Jersey fields planted sixty years ago. According to Darlington, who told O'Connor:

> There are commercially available blueberry harvesters that are much bigger, much more expensive, much harder to deal with . . . forty- or fifty-thousand dollar monsters that are so unmaneuverable you have to take out a couple bushes at the end of the row so you can get turned around . . . [We] developed a machine that is easier to build and maintain, far cheaper to buy, and does a better job picking than anything else we've seen at all. Dad's machine will get up and down these rows: all that's there, really, is a little path. They had hand-picking in mind. They never thought about machines when they planted the bushes. (November 18, 1983, AMH015)

Cultural resources remain vital insofar as they remain useful, symbolically as well as economically. They co-evolve with the system. Their parts are recycled. Corduroy roads serve as templates for cedar management. The forms of sneakboxes and working decoys are modified by plywood and cork as cedar becomes more scarce. The tune to "Frankie and Johnny" is recycled to lyrics about clamming. Chunks of bog iron are recycled as yard edgings, and events are recycled in dramatic reenactments, stories, and songs. Processes, images, and artifacts are all recyclable, and subject to adaptation. They make the past constantly available.



Mechanized blueberry picker designed by Tom Darlington, harvesting blueberries at Whiteshog in June. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald. 84BDM227268-01-28.)

Displaying Place and the Past

Sense of place is inseparable from a sense of the past. Kevin Lynch observes that sense of place "enhances every human activity that occurs there, and encourages the deposit of a memory trace."[57] If developers in the Reserve are encouraged to be sensitive to the character of the place, the quality of life for both newcomers and natives will be enhanced. Evidence suggests that the rootedness of natives is an important resource for transplants and visitors. From such transplants and regular visitors we learn the importance of connoisseurship of local culture.

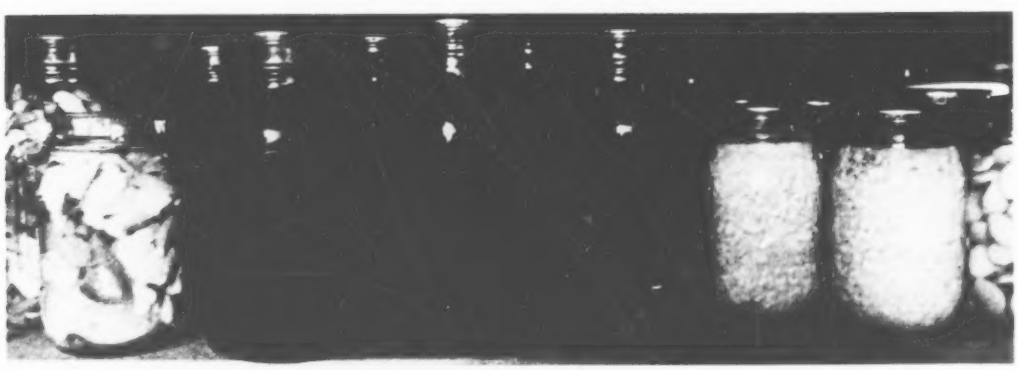
A close look at most tools and processes in the region reveals that a great deal of variation has arisen to accommodate differences in taste and topography. Cultivators, sorters, rakes, dredges, boats, harvesters, packing houses, curing sheds, and traps for harvesting cranberries, blueberries, peaches, sweet potatoes, clams, oysters, eels, moss, pinecones, fish, fowl and furbearers tell of the region's similarities to and differences from the rest of rural America. People display a vast assortment of such tools throughout the region in restaurants, yards, living rooms, and club houses. They scavenge for them on the sites of old bottling works, in attics, at flea markets and yard sales.

People recycle the natural and historic resources into regional emblems. Oyster shells stucco buildings in Port Norris, "the oyster capital of the world." Cranberry scoops are made into magazine racks, and sneakboxes into coffee tables. Old gill nets share restaurant walls with fish and game trophies, while tongs, dredges and eel spears lean in the corners. Fragments of South Jersey glass, green because of the iron content in the sand, are used to cover graves. People surround themselves with evidence that they are at home, in a place with a usable past. The tools and resources are thus recycled into touchstones for stories about the region.

Louise Erdrich writes that, in a tribal view of the world, "the landscape itself is enlivened by a sense of group and family history."[58] What keeps the landscape alive is not the strict preservation of that history, but the continual reweaving of the past into the present. As Kevin Lynch put it:

> The observer himself should play an active role in perceiving the world and have a creative part in developing his image. He should have the power to change that image to fit changing needs. An environment which is ordered in precise and final detail may inhibit new patterns of activity.[59]

People keep the past supple by knowing where it is and how to use it.



Canned goods prepared by Helen Zimmer, of Egg Harbor City. (Photograph by Elaine Thatcher. 83BET215661-06-10.)

AESTHETIC RESOURCES AND SENSE OF PLACE

"The perception of beauty is a moral test." Ralph Waldo Emerson

Notions of beauty are relative, which is the point of a story that foxhunters like to tell:

> A man pulled up here in a pink cadillac one night, about two o'clock in the morning, and wanted to know what I was doin' out here at that hour. "Well," I said, "You roll down your window, mister, and you'll hear some of the prettiest music you ever heard in your life." So the guy rolled down his window and listened. After a bit he said, "How can you hear any music when those dogs are making all that racket?"[60]

Although aesthetic experiences of the landscape are tied to all of the senses, the scenic preference test remains the most common tool used by planners to assess, maintain and enhance aesthetic resources. The Project paid special attention to aesthetic experiences afforded by everyday life in the region, and to notions of beauty that might only surface, as folklorist Dell Hymes put it, in

> the satisfaction in the voice of Mrs. Blanche Tohet of Warm Springs Reservation, Oregon, when, having finished fixing eels to dry one evening in the traditional way, she stood back, looking at them strung on a long line, and said, "There, in't [sic] that beautiful?" [61]

Mrs. Tohet's frank expression of appreciation is clearly part of an aesthetic event, and not the kind of information that can be garnered in scenic preferences surveys. One has to ask not only what landscapes people prefer, but where, in their different traditions of resource management, the opportunities for aesthetic events are lodged. One has to document examples of aesthetic events. What pleases people by virtue of its beauty or excellence, and what is, in their judgment, ugly? What knowledge and technical skills form the backdrop for their judgments? What looks, feels, tastes, smells, or sounds good about a place?

To whom are "Jersey cones" beautiful, and why? Why does George Campbell think the salt hay along the Garden State Parkway is especially beautiful? Why are Tom Brown's muskrat hides so beautiful to fur buyers? Why is "Jersey cedar" the most perfect wood for Jersey garveys? How is a farm market a scenic resource? What notions of beauty and utility govern the shaping of yardscapes? Why does Clifford Frazee display an unusual, arching cedar tree in his side yard, painted gray? What are the forms and conventions whereby people express their appreciation for beauty?

Given the focus of our project, many of the aesthetic values we documented were environmental. With respect to landscapes, the deepest aesthetic conflicts center around the degree of human visibility tolerated within several key images of what the region should be. We might distinguish two of these key images as "the pinelands as wilderness" (a space to be left alone) and "the

pinelands as home" (a place to be crafted). We might see the first image in light of Aldo Leopold's "conservation esthetic," whereby landscapes are judged according to the quality of "nature contact" they afford.[62] In this view, the premium is placed on things that are wild, indigenous, and natural. In the second image, underpinned by a slightly different conservation impulse, landscapes are aesthetically judged according to what we might call, after Christopher Alexander, their "goodness of fit"[63] within the local traditions of resource management and appreciation.

Nature Contact

Many of the region's recreational users are motivated by a desire to be in contact with nature, and they seek this contact in overtly aesthetic exercises, though their practices may place them in conflict, as Aldo Leopold notes:

> The game-farmer kills hawks and the bird-lover protects them in the name of shot-gun and field-glass hunting respectively. Such factions commonly label each other with short and ugly names, when, in fact, each is considering a different component of the recreational process.[64]

Leopold's "components" include the seeking of trophies, isolation, perception of natural processes, and a sense of husbandry. Much of the Reserve's aesthetic value resides in its capacity to produce these experiences for a variety of groups.

Trophies can be direct or indirect. The region's classic trophy, a many-pronged buck "rack," is mounted on countless walls in living rooms, gun clubs, and restaurants throughout the region. Indirect trophies like photographs and birders' lifelists are also documents of successful contact with nature. Leopold observes that these are certificates, attesting that the owner has been somewhere and done something—"that he has exercised skill, persistence, or discrimination in the age-old feat of overcoming, outwitting, or reducing-to-possession. These connotations which attach to the trophy usually far exceed its physical value."[65]

A deep aesthetic conflict marks the difference between direct and indirect trophy-seekers. While indirect trophy-seekers may be interested in observing evolutionary and ecological processes, direct trophy seekers may be re-enacting the frontier days. Jim Stasz, a wildlife biologist from Audubon, New Jersey, described birding virtuosity and its pleasures to Eugene Hunn:

> You could close your eyes, and listen to the birds and know what plants were there. Or you could look at the plants,even just smell them at certain seasons and you could predict what birds would be there. (December 19, 1985, AEH006)

A woman who hunts rare plant species in order to photograph them commented of deer hunters: "These people are carousing old men. They go out dressed fit to kill [sic] and they get all kinds of things and they don't use them and they don't eat them. It's just—honor and glory of killing." (November 15, 1985, AMH021)

The Harmony Gun Club, Chatsworth. (Photograph by Mary Hufford, #83BMH2807:3:01::15.)

GUN CLUB

Yet the deer hunter presents a very different picture of his avocation:

> We have a saying here: "Take your boy hunting instead of hunting your boy." It *is* a tradition. You can't put time on it.... It's like American heritage. We take time off of work to come up and put in the time. We keep the population under control. Everything we take we use. It's just like what happened in the eighteenth century. (December 12, 1985, AMH024)

The woman's trophies represent her contact with an unpopulated wilderness, while the deer hunters' represent their contact with a wilderness embodying the values of their forebears. Both groups work to maintain environments that fit their images. Deer hunters pay high taxes to maintain hunting cabins on acres of woodland. Elizabeth Woodford and Joe Albert both shelter deer in private wildlife refuges on the Reserve's western and eastern fringes. Both groups are motivated by a "sense of husbandry," deploring litter and waste, and both find the same natural species and environments beautiful.

Related to the difference between direct and indirect trophies is the difference between gathering and collecting, as Sinton and Berger point out:

> The difference between gathering and collecting is that the former sustains one's life, while the latter enriches one's data, specimens, and experiences. Insiders generally gather plants and fruits, but outsiders collect plants and animals.[16]

Woodsmen and gatherers harvest the region's resources to sell them. Collectors (also known as "herpers," "birders," and "bogtrotters") also make their livings through research on specimens that they observe. Both gatherers and collectors bring aesthetic sensibilities to bear on their work. The gatherer on the plains finds something to admire in the "woodsmanship" of a fellow gatherer. "Hazy's a good woodsman," said Cathy Dilkes to Christine Cartwright:

> He's about the best I've ever seen. Knocking blueberries, cattailing, everything.... When he's out to work, he's out to work—he's not out to play. That's the best way to be when you're out there to work in the woods. You're out there work, you're not out there to play around. (October 1, 1985, ACC005)

The kind of appreciation for Jersey pinecones expressed by Jack Cervetto is grounded in this sense of the landscape as a workplace. It teems with renewable resources that support the able worker. The barren Plains are abundant in pinecones, Jersey cones that sustain his life-style. According to Cervetto, a "Jersey cone" outshines any other cone in the world. "When it's open, it has an oak-shiny finish to it. Beautiful!.... It's the hardest cone that grows in the world, and when it opens up it looks exactly like a rose." (March, 1984, AEH006)

Tall pine in the pygmy forest, laden with serotinous cones. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki 83BJC216651-07-17.)

The Plains, on the other hand, are not regarded as a beautiful landscape. Although the uniqueness of this upland tract of stunted pine and scrub oak and the scarcity of some of its vegetation has made it valuable for scientific study, it is not the kind of place people take their families for picnics, as Abbott Lee observed. "Do you think the pygmy forest is pretty?" he asked us incredulously. Merce Ridgway put this sentiment in verse:

> Whoever thought they'd want our doggone pines?
> With its sandy soils, mosquitos, gnats, and flies?
> They even filled in parts of the bays, to build houses where rich folks play.
> Folks I sure do miss my Jersey home. (November 20, 1983, RMH054)

Susan Stewart reminds us of the artistry involved in collecting. Collections, she writes, represent "the total aestheticization of use value." She continues:

> The collection is a form of art as play. . . Yet unlike many forms of art, the collection is not representational. The collection presents a hermetic world: to have a representative collection is to have both the minimum and complete number of elements necessary for an autonomous world—a world which is both full and singular,which has banished repetition and achieved authority.[67]

Collections need not be material, as life-lists of bird sightings and repertoires of animal stories attest.

While our civilization at large formalizes its relationships to nature and history in institutions like zoos, circuses, museums, and wilderness areas, individuals and communities formalize them in practices like yardscaping, bird watching, and hunting. Hunting often serves more as a frame for interacting with wildlife than as a way of taking it. People often report these interactions in story form, as Ann Davis of Browns Mills did when recalling her childhood experiences in the woods:

> My mother couldn't understand why I wanted to go gunning. But I would go up into the woods and set there by myself, and listen to the squirrels cussing me out, and the bluejays, and you get in where they are, and they don't like you to interrupt what they're doing. You can go and see some plan and till they find you there they're just unconcerned, but when they find you, boy oh boy! You'd be surprised how they chatter. And the bluejays'll see you and they'll go up and down the woods and the road hollerin'. And I said, "they're just tellin' everybody else that somebody's here." I believe that that's what it was. And a deer could come along, and the squirrels and the bluejays would tell him, don't go any further! And off they would run. It's really amazing the things that you see and hear off in the woods. (RMH008, September 19, 1983)

Tom Brown, a Cumberland County furtaker, inventories his scenic resources in verse:

> My wife has often said to me,
> "How lonesome the woods must be,"
> I answered, "No, there's too much to see.
> I love the murmur of the trees,
> As the wind softly stirs her leaves,
> The bees flying to and fro,
> Gathering nectar as they go,
> The robin and the little wren,
> Among my many feathered friends,
> The cardinal with his coat of red,
> The mockingbird singing overhead,
> At yonder log I chance to glance,
> A grouse is starting to drum and dance.
> The otter from the bank its slide,
> The mink that hunts a hole to hide,
> The deer that drink in yonder stream,
> I often see them in my dreams.
> And though folks may say it's a waste of time,
> I'll always have this love of mine.
> (October 10, 1983, AEH001)

As "space" that is not "place," that is freed from the constraints of everyday life, the Pinelands National Reserve offers temporary isolation, fresh air, and change of pace to visitors. All-terrain vehicle users, who are the subjects of many complaints about noise and road devastation, may view the place as wilderness, a perspective that enhances their sport. "What do you like about this place?" asked Jay Orr of one four-wheeler at Hidden Lakes. "It's virgin wilderness," responded Bob York of West Creek. "There's wildlife out here. Everyone here pretty much respects it." (September 19, 1983, RMH007) His sport, which pits high-powered machines against the challenges of mud and sand, is as much a symbolic ritual as foxhunting or deerhunting. "Machines versus nature" comprises a significant aesthetic tension in peoples' discussion of the land and resources, and emerges as an important theme in four-wheelers' descriptions of their sport.

The opportunity to observe natural processes may also be highly valued by the grower, whose sense of husbandry may well extend beyond tending his particular crop. The uncultivated areas are part of the whole picture. "This is heaven for me," said Ed Lamonaca to Mal O'Connor, referring to a swamp near his peach orchard on Pine Road.

> You should see it when the ducks fly south. It's beautiful.The geese when they fly overhead... It's really an incredible place. You look back and you see the farm. You look back at the whole property, the swamp, the trees and the property. It's a really beautiful spot. (June 22, 1985, AMO005.)

Mosquitos are also considered part of the whole picture. A number of outdoorsmen objected to methods of mosquito control that they said were destroying young fish, muskrats, insects, and birds, for the benefit of recreational users. "The tourists move in here for what we've got," said George Campbell, a salt-hay farmer in Eldora, to Eugene Hunn, "but then they don't want *everything* we've got: they don't want the mosquito." Linwood Veach, an eeler, trapper, and conservation officer from Delmont, told Jens Lund that he presented Congressman Sandman photographs of massive fish-kills that occur in the ditches near the meadows each spring shortly after the spraying. The congressman, he said, replied that he received thousands of complaints about mosquitos and only a handful of complaints about dead fish.

George Campbell, a salt-hay farmer in Eldora, feels that mosquito control, largely to please recreational users, has seriously damaged the marshes in the past. His story of how sterilized marshes regenerated when the Mosquito Commission stopped using DDT shows both ecological sensitivity and a keen sense of husbandry:

> It infuriated me a few years ago. They was sayin' I was raisin' all the mosquitos in the salt meadows, and I said, "Well, you come in and you wiped out all the natural enemies of the mosquito and then you claim I'm raisin' 'em." Because they wiped out the fiddler crabs. The whole meadows was sterile. The fiddler crabs was gone, the mussels was gone, the fish in the ditches was gone, the crabs in the ditches was gone . . . I was pleasantly surprised how quick the meadows has come back since they quit using it. The fiddler crabs is back strong now. The meadows just came back to life again. The dragonflies is back, and it's good to see 'em. (November 7, 1983, RJL024)

By some accounts, mosquitos signify a society in good working order as well, which is the point of Jack Cervetto's story about George Cranmer's trip to Philadelphia. Cranmer, who would be more than a hundred years old if still alive, had never travelled much beyond Warren Grove. In his later years he accepted an invitation from some young friends to go to Philadelphia. His neighbors assembled on his return, curious to hear his impressions. What did he think of it? "Why, in Philadelphia," he said, "People live on top of one another out there!" How were the mosquitos? "Why, a mosquito couldn't *live* in Philadelphia!" (84FEH0612)

For outdoorsmen like George Campbell, Jack Cervetto, and Ed Lamoraca nature contact is a valued aesthetic component of daily life, but sculpted landscapes like salt-hay farms, cranberry bogs, and peach orchards are symbolically powerful as well. For Campbell, a bank in a salt-hay meadow symbolizes a way of life that is slowly being consumed by the ocean:

> Salt-haying has always been a hard, dirty job, and a lot of people don't care to do it, and a few of us is crazy and we love it. . . . and you do develop a love for it—I'm not ashamed to admit. Last year I was down on my hay shore down here. My bank had broke, you know. I stood there and cried cause I seen a way of life leavin', you know, that I'd loved, and you can only fight Mother Nature for so long and she's gonna win. I know she's gonna win. (November 7, 1983, RJL023)

As someone who has maintained huge tracts of meadowland, Campbell sees himself as part of the ecosystem. His challenge, having seen this, is to make himself fit as perfectly as possible.

Sluice gate at the irrigation ditch in Old Bog at Whiteshog, a bog that is no longer cultivated. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21769-01-21.)

The Aesthetics of Goodness of Fit

We can see how the "wilderness" and "landscape" images foster different notions of what is beautiful in responses to old cranberry bogs, like those found in Lebanon State Forest at Whiteshog. They have not been harvested in years, and their deep and random irrigation ditches, overgrown with water lilies, are beautiful to visitors. To a conservation-minded cranberry grower they represent waste and inefficiency. "There's one twenty-five- acre bog that was just unmanageable," said Mark Darlington, whose family used to harvest them:

> It had this ditch that goes over the top of your head. It just wanders—it's got oxbows in it! You can't pick it—it's just a mess over there.... It's four feet out of level—that means the top end's got to be five feet deep before the lower end even sees any water. And that's a staggering amount of millions of gallons. And over there we don't have a closed water system, you have to open the gate at the bottom and that's it. (November 17, 1983, AMH015)

A state-of-the-art cranberry bog at Buffin's Meadows in Whitesbog, flooded in winter to keep the vines from freezing. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 84BJC222306-08-26.)

What's beautiful, from Darlington's point of view, is a solution to a problem in cranberry management, imaginatively wrought. The bogs that the Darlingtons developed across the highway from Whitesbog, in Buffin's Meadows, are widely acknowledged as state-of-the-art bogs. What's beautiful is their precision, economy, and efficiency. The ditches have been eliminated, as Mark explained:

> These bogs over here, Dad sat down from the very beginning to try to make as efficient as he possibly could, so it's as level as we could make it. It's all two hundred feet, center to center, on the dams, exactly. The bogs change length, but they're all exactly the same width, so we're able to spray 'em from one dam with a sprayer that goes out a hundred feet, then you go around the other side and do the other part. Then you don't need any ditches down the middle for water. (November 17, 1983, AMH015)

The wilderness lover can enjoy a cranberry landscape without really seeing it, precisely because it fits so well. "This is a high ridge," said Nora Rubinstein to Jack Cervetto who was conducting her on a tour of the Oswego Swamp. "This is a dam," he corrected her. "This is man-made. This is built." (October 18, 1983, ANR003)

The striving for goodness of fit goes hand-in-hand with the collective memory. It is underwritten by a firm grasp of the possibilities and limitations posed by the environment. Thus Norman Taylor, on returning to the site of his childhood home in Lower Mill after twenty years, approved his father's good judgment in locating the mill at the confluence of two streams:

> You can see why it's appropriate for a mill to be there, where two streams come together. Look how quick the water is . . . You can see the piling down there where the old mill used to set. That's a lot of water flowing, for as low as the water is. (September 22, 1983, AMH006)

The house and mill had burned down in a fire more than fifty years ago.

Crafted landscapes have many critical judges who are, within their traditions, trained to appreciate subtle nuances. Farmers enjoy looking at farms that look as farms should look, as a comment from Eddie Lamonaca, a Hammonton peach farmer, reveals:

> Every orchard and every field has its own different thing, see? Now coming up here, you've got . . . Pine Road, a pretty nice road, you know. . . . Most of it's kept well around here. There's nothing shabby or rundown about the farms. They're meticulous. (AMO005)

Peach Orchard in Hammonton. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21772I-04-04.)

ANGELO'S
ANGELO'S
PARK

A trained landscape audience knows when to applaud technical skill and exhibitions of what Franz Boas called "feeling for form," whether the crafted work is a cranberry bog, a Maryland hound dog, or a Barnegat Bay Sneakbox. There are aspects of scenery that are powerful for what they symbolize beyond their goodness of fit with the landscape. Many of the farms in the Hammonton area, for example, are Italian, as the names on the mailboxes attest: DeMarco, Risotti, Putiri, Angelo, Bucci, Lamonaca. They also *look* Italian, as Eddie Lamonaca observed:

> Italian farmers, I think, like to see trees—olive trees, or peach trees—some kind of a gnarly, European-growing-looking tree. And the ground's flat, you know, and has some kind of rolling landscape to it. I think it *does* resemble Italy somewhat—northern Italy and central Italy. (June 25, 1985, AM0005.)

Russian and Ukrainian immigrants in Cassville make the same kind of association with native white birch trees, with which they line their yards. Reminiscent of Eastern European forests, birch trees powerfully evoke the homeland.

Notions of beauty are often rooted in moral convictions. We encountered strong resentment of agriculture among preservationists. "Agriculture," said one environmentalist, "is a selfish and anachronistic use of the land." (83FCC1023.) Although the *Comprehensive Management Plan* protects agriculture, the low status accorded to farmscapes on the scenic preferences tests suggests that the public could be better prepared to appreciate them, a task for the Commission's public education arm.

Sue Samuelson observed that farm markets, for example, comprise an important aesthetic resource on several levels. Many people find them pleasing to look at—colorful montages of fresh fruits and vegetables, hand-packed preserves, and flowers. They also supply many decorative resources used in local yardscapes—bird baths, feeders, statues, and plants. These contribute to the region's character. "There seems to be a regional penchant for decorating yards with figures, flowers, martin houses, and other colorful items," wrote Elaine Thatcher on her second day of fieldwork. "I have seen more little yard figurines here than I have seen in years in the West." (83FET0919.)

If the Commission enforces its recommendation that people plant only native materials in their yards, it could unwittingly impose the aesthetic standard of a small group of people on an entire region.[18]

Farm Market on the White Horse Pike, a seasonal resource for local yardscapes. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC21302: 10-13.)

Woodland Yardscapes

Thatcher observed that yardscapes as personal, creative statements deserve careful attention for the attitudes they convey toward nature, society, and the pasts of people within the region. In looking at woodland yards she paid special attention to two sets of aesthetic oppositions: 1) the use of native versus non-native plants, and 2) the degree of separation or integration with the woods manifested in the presence or absence of boundaries.

Lawns and gardens, as E.N. Anderson has noted, communicate a great deal about the social situation of their owners. The house that is hidden from view, nestled among pine trees, bearberry and sheep laurel can send several messages. The owner may be expressing a desire for unity with nature, for seclusion from society, or both. The Pinelands Garden Club in Medford promotes such an approach to yardscaping, advising newcomers to adopt "the low maintenance look." In a booklet entitled *A Home in the Pine Barrens* Elizabeth Woodford recommends that people avoid introduced plants when gardening around their homes. Woodford, a well-known botanist in the region, has converted her own property into the Cedar Run Wildlife Refuge.

At the other end of the spectrum are yards that contain clearly detached lawns, formal gardens, souvenir plantings, and artifact displays. Like orchards that remind Hammonton farmers of Mediterranean olive groves and birch facades that symbolize Eastern Europe for Cassville residents, the plantings in many local yards tie the owners to various pasts, worldviews, and places. Introduced plantings may also have practical applications. Their cornfields may not be indigenous, but they serve as fire breaks, and they provide fuel for backfiring.

Many local yards, in fact, shuttle back and forth between the notions of wilderness and garden, with private "nature trails" in the wooded sections and formal gardens with deer-proof fences close to the house. Some "transplants" nurture ties to the local past by displaying historic artifacts in their formal gardens. Joanne Van Istendal marks the boundaries of "The Teardrop," a sitting area near her house so named for its shape, with chunks of bog iron smelted locally in the seventeenth century. Elizabeth Wendt of the Medford Historical Society calls attention to a common boundary from the pioneer days in her display of a split-rail fence within her yard, its frame softened by vines.

House blending with woods near Bear Swamp Hill. (Photograph by Nora Rubinstein. 83BNR217 302-06-09.)

The garden in the wilderness is, of course, a classic theme. Tom Brown reminds us of this with the sign in his garden that reads "Paradise Acres." Gardens, purely aesthetic expressions associated with "time out," are refuges clearly separated from their surroundings. Most gardens by definition are *not* wilderness, as their non-native plantings attest. In his study of California gardens, E.N. Anderson noted:

> Frequently a species is chosen because of its unsuitability to the climate or terrain of the garden, specifically so that the grower can feel a sense of accomplishment in making it grow. Gardens are designed so that they look distinctly unlike the native plants of the hillsides.[69]

View of George and Helen Zimmer's woodland yard from Heidelberg Avenue, Egg Harbor City. (Photograph by Sue Samuelson, 84BS223763-02-15.)

Diagram of George and Helen Zimmer's yard. (Drawing by Elaine Thatcher.)

Woodland yardscapes that keep the woods at bay also deliberately cultivate nature contact. While some boundaries, like chain-link fences around gardens or dog pens, are impermeable to animals, others, like hedges or shrubs that gradually merge with the woods, foster interaction with wildlife. The observation of the natural world gives rise to many stories through which the animal world continues to mirror the human one, as it has done for thousands of years.

Bird feeders are ubiquitous, provoking reams of commentary— stories that people read through their kitchen windows and relate to each other. These homespun "morality plays," as fieldworker Eugene Hunn called them, are staged on feeders throughout the nation, with different birds assuming familiar roles. At Leo Landy's birdfeeder, for example, one can see Spartan chickadees, which are very tough in the coldest weather, mild-mannered doves, the proletarian sparrows, lazy cardinals who rely on the sparrows to do all the scratching, and finicky bluejays who disdain anything but sunflower seeds. Landy's feeder is sparingly stocked with sunflower seeds to keep the birds from becoming like "welfare types." (FEH12/20/83)

Purple martins are favored throughout the region, sometimes housed in elaborate shelters. Perhaps the region's most spectacular is a 112-room martin palace built by Les Christofferson of Whiting in the 1960s. Each gabled entrance is flanked by Grecian columns. He claimed that the same martins returned year after year. Elsewhere in the region one sees lighthouses, bungalows, and "martin gourds." In a sense, martins are actually working birds, placed near gardens and patios where they devour insects, especially mosquitos.

Scarecrows stand in stark contrast to martin houses, reminding us that certain birds, especially crows, are *persona non grata* near gardens and orchards. Scarecrows are a traditional solution to an age-old problem, and they are constructed with varying degrees of creativity. At the more perfunctory end of the scale we see pie tins tied to posts, warding off birds with their clatter. At the other end we see whimsy mingled with utility in figures designed as much to entertain passing motorists as to deflect birds. One in particular, "Miss Brookeville," is a store mannequin with a wardrobe that changes from week to week. Whirligigs, designed to bother moles by sending tremors through the ground, also give a bird pause, constituting another form of wildlife control that also entertains. Traditional wind-animated whirligig tableaus include washerwomen, woodchoppers, and mules kicking human posteriors.

Even junkpiles are signals to be carefully observed and evaluated. "How does one display junk for sale without a junkpile or a sign for junk?" ask Berger and Sinton.[7] A farmer pointed out to Christine Cartwright that one sign of the thrift of a good farmer is the mound of machine parts stored in his yard for recycling. Junkpiles and scarecrows, both earmarks of a local conservation impulse, aroused strong emotional reactions from residents of a preservationist bent.

Martin Houses on Barnegat Bay, Tuckerton. (Photograph by Jens Lund. 83BJL215421-08-04.)

NATURAL RESOURCES AS CULTURAL RESOURCES

The Cultural Organization of Fire

As Jonathan Berger and John Sinton clearly demonstrate in their book *Water, Earth, and Fire*, local people traditionally have molded a diversity of habitats in keeping with their interpretations of water, earth, and fire, the region's common denominators. As Joanne Van Istendal of Medford put it: "No matter where the settlement or the culture, we are all linked together by the sand and the water." (84FMH0519) They also are linked by fire. For their awareness of how to curb and manipulate the fires endemic to the region, Berger and Sinton have called them "fire ecologists."[71]

Growers and woodsmen traditionally have manipulated fire in all environments, wielding it for fire control in the woodlands, for weed control in the bogs, and for refurbishing the root systems in salt-hay meadows. However, uncontrolled fires have for centuries incinerated the Pine Barrens at roughly twenty-year intervals, creating what is known among silviculturists as a fire-climax forest. In 1609 Robert Juet, who kept the log for Henry Hudson aboard the *Half Moon*, reported on approaching Barnegat Bay (called "Burning Hole" in the seventeenth century): "We saw a great fire, but could not see the land."[72]

The vegetation has responded, becoming both more volatile and more resilient, resprouting within one or two seasons of a fire. The cultural landscape has adapted as well. One sees "jailhouse oaks" (chestnut oaks that have burned and formed a ring of trees from the basal sprouts around the stump) turned into tree-house supports, planters, and watering troughs for animals. The woods are laced with "plowed lanes," firebreaks hewn out of the woodlands by the forest fire service, and used by fox hunters and deer hunters. Residents deliberately design fields, lakes, gardens, driveways, and corduroy roads to double as fire breaks. (FMH06/24/84)

The effects of fire on harvestable wild resources like blueberries, cedar, and pinecones have been duly noted and filed in the collective memory. "What makes your best huckleberry or blueberry, upland, is fire," reported Tom Brown, a Cumberland County trapper, woodsman, and mudwalloper. "The fire goes through and then after that the berries really come on." (March, 1984. AEH004) More common than pine trees are the wild huckleberries, for which Phil Marucci commented that the region would be more aptly named "Huckleberry Barrens." (84FEH0321)

George Brewer, a cedar cutter from Dennisville, speculated that certain kinds of fire produce good white cedar. He logged "a beautiful stand over in Burnt Causeway" where a fire swept through in 1887. "There's a beautiful piece of cedar coming up where they had that fire in 1944," he observed. (October 15, 1983. RJL007) Under certain conditions, fire eliminates the competition between cedar trees and "junk wood" (gum and maple, the "weeds" of the cedar swamp), but the turf containing the cedar seedlings must be wet enough to protect them from burning.

Gatherers have turned the firescape of the pygmy forest, known locally as the Plains, to their economic advantage. The dwarf pines, also called scrub pines, produce the best pinecones for gathering. Pine cone buyers force them in pine-cone popping ovens. Scrub pines produce serotinous cones that, in a fire-adaptive response, open only when heated to 150 degrees Fahrenheit.

Fire-scaped community at Van Dal Lake, Medford. Buildings and firebreaks (pasture, garden, roads, and streams) are positioned with respect to the prevailing southeasterly wind, affording maximum protection against fires coming from the central woodlands during fire season. (Drawing by Jan Adkins. Source: Joanne Van Istendal.)

On the Plains most of the cones remain closed for years, within arm's reach of gatherers like Bill Wasiowich, who distinguishes the cones according to their shades. "First-year cones" are brown, "second-year cones" are gray-brown, and "third-year cones" are gray-black—"Old enough to vote," as Leo Landy, of Nesco, sometimes says disgustedly, for they fall apart when heated in his pinecone-popping oven.

Jack Cervetto is a veteran fire fighter who reads the vegetation and soil for what he calls the "fire index." When the ground is very dry, the fire index is high, and he does not go too far from home. The buildup of pine needles and brush on sandy bottom that holds no water creates a tinder-box effect. Residents are tensed when a fire is "overdue" like people who, living elsewhere on the margins of disaster, are tensed for volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, or floods. "When she's ready to burn," wrote Joanne van Istendal, "the wind will dry her like a bone. You gotta feel and smell the wind, be ready for a good fight. When there's a fire at the other end of the Pines, we all feel it. It's always on our minds. It binds us together."[3]

The homes in the Van Dal Lake community, where the extended family of Van Istendals lives, are protected by built-in firebreaks: a lake on one side of the homes and a horse field on the other. The trees, shrubs, and gardens closest to the homes are green, non-volatile plants. Beyond the clearing around the home, there is enough dry vegetation to backfire. Although control burning around private homes is no longer common, this adaptive response is evident in many woodland homesteads. The forestry service tries to burn off the accumulated brush on public lands every three or four years.

Control burning demands an experienced hand. Hunters, growers, tree farmers, and home owners all benefit from different cycles of burning. Where buildings are clustered, three-year rotations are advisable. Wildlife and recreational habitats require hotter burns every seven years.[74] Cliff Frazee protects his pine-tree farm in the Forked River Mountains by burning on a five-year cycle. He never burns downwind, always against it, when the temperature is between 30 and 45 degrees Fahrenheit and the air is humid. He never burns in a "baffling wind," (wind that comes from all directions).

Despite precautions, wildfires are inevitable, each bringing its own horrifying spectacles. Major fires are known by their years—the fire of 1930, 1936, 1944, and so on—and described in superlatives. "The most sickening sound in the world is the sound of a crown fire," said Gladys Eayre of Forked River, who has fought many fires. A crown fire ensues when the head of the fire goes to the tops of trees. On Sunday, May 4, 1930, Clifford Frazee went to Sunday school, and on emerging from the church he noticed a little puff of smoke off to the west, near Whiting about 15 miles away. That afternoon his church burned down in a fire that was two miles wide. Against a fire like that, Frazee commented, not even the Garden State Parkway works as a firebreak. He reported seeing six fires cross the Parkway in sixty years. The only thing that stopped them was Barnegat Bay.

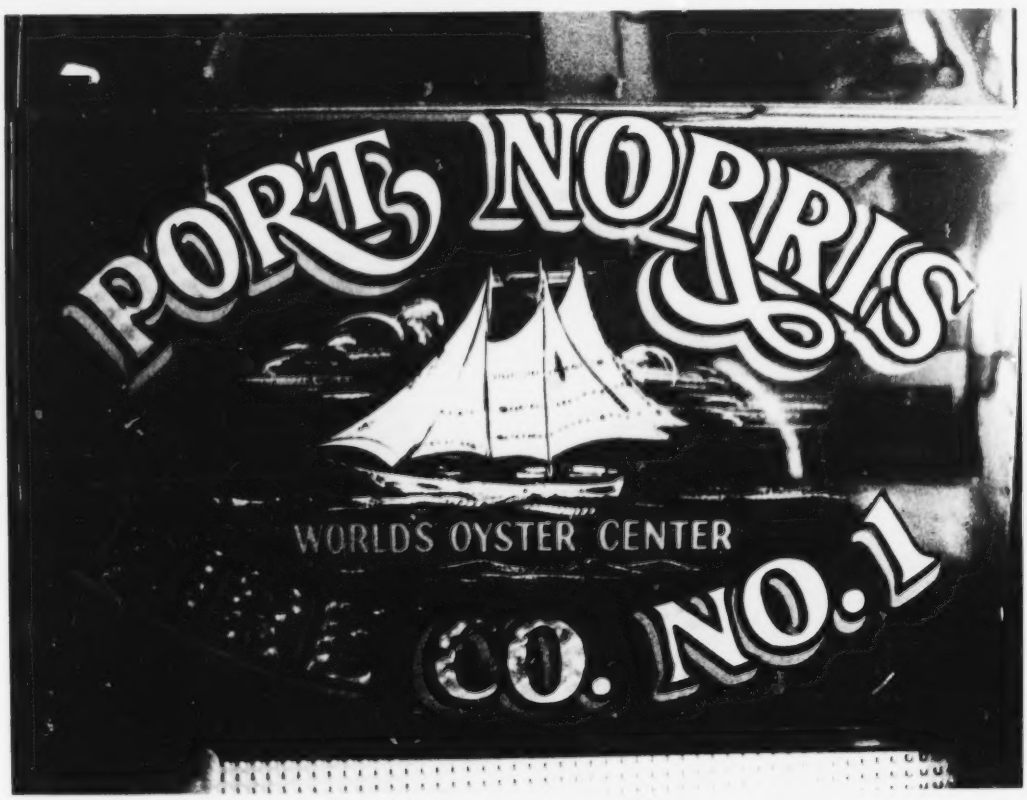
Through shared accounts of the 1930 fire, the story of its encounter with the landscape has developed. It raged through the woods, twisting the tops off pine trees and throwing them ahead by as much as half a mile. Frazee reported that when it hit the twenty-five-acre cedar swamp in Factory Branch it exploded, spewing flames a hundred feet into the air. "You can't understand it unless you saw it. One guy said to me: I never seen anything like that in my life,' and he *lived* up there! I don't think anyone could imagine it if he hadn't been there." (October 22, 1983 RMO007)

Woodlands communities occupy a niche in the fire-climax ecosystem. Fire fighting, an established tradition in the region, is entwined with intergenerational relationships and community networks. The cinder-block firehouse is a site for wedding receptions, reunions, anniversaries, or holiday celebrations. While forest fires are fought by the forestry service, the local volunteer companies protect the homes. In both situations junior fire fighters are apt to ride in the trucks alongside their fathers or grandfathers. "It binds the generations together," commented Eileen Homiller, a ninth-generation Mathis from Lower Bank. "My son was on the same truck as his grandfather. Almost everyone in the company is related to us. Some people say we're a clique, but we welcome [newcomers]." (October 11, 1983 RET019)

The volunteer fire company actually serves as a formal channel for incorporating newcomers. "When somebody new comes in, we start dropping by and leaving subtle hints about joining the fire company," said Barry Cavileer. The fire company brings together insiders and outsiders and blends ethnic and regional identities. Thus Elizabeth Carpenter described the assimilation of a Puerto Rican family into the Chatsworth community:

> Mr. DeLeon was a migrant Puerto Rican laborer who worked for Anthony DeMarco, and brought his wife up, and now is a permanent resident with three sons and a daughter. His eldest son Al, or Alberto, is a volunteer member of the Chatsworth fire company. And that's rather fascinating, because one of the things you find in the Pines is a Piney man feels, oftentimes, it's just part of his obligation or repsonsibility to join a local fire company, testifying to the fact that fire is very much a part of our area. And for Al to be part of the fire company [shows that] his family [is] becoming Piney: very much a part of the community. (September 28, 1983, RCC010)

While the volunteer fire companies remain important seats of local authority in the interior communities of the National Reserve, there is a growing demand for paid fire companies in the suburban border townships, signaling the breakdown of the older order, the breaking apart, as Berger and Sinton put it, "of carefully constructed ways of doing things."[75]



A fire truck door, Port Norris. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki, 83BJC217461-03-29.)

Family Trees and Cultural Vessels: Jersey Cedar and Jersey Boats

The shrinking supply of Atlantic white cedar has had an impact on boat building. The knowledge that no other wood can compare with cedar when it comes to boat building is underpinned by generations of experimentation. The forms of Jersey garveys and Barnegat Bay sneakboxes are inseparable from the properties of cedar.

"It's a beautiful wood, cedar," said Joe Reid to Tom Carroll, "the best wood that grows, for boats." Reid has experimented with a variety of wood, and he spoke with authority of the merits and shortcomings of each kind. Oak is too heavy and prone to rot. White oak can be used for sprung timbers in a round-bottomed boat, such as the Barnegat Bay sneakbox. For cut timbers, Douglas fir is best, because it holds a nail better than cedar. Pine soaks up a lot of water and would weigh twice as much as a cedar boat.

> Some of the old boats were built out of pine around here, and when you'd pull them up on the bank, their seams would open up three-eighths of an inch—the wood would shrink. Then the seams would go back together again when you put it in the water, but sometimes they'd even get gravel in them, and you couldn't get it to go tight again. (November 16, 1983 ATC001)

Spruce will do, said Reid, for boats farther north, but it does not hold up well in warm water, and will not hold a nail like cedar. Southern cedar (Atlantic white cedar that grows in a southern state like North Carolina) makes big, tough boards. But it is no good on the bottom of a boat because it is short-grained and breaks off—perhaps, the woodcutters speculate, because the winters are not as harsh in the south. At any rate, many agree that Jersey cedar is the best wood for Jersey waters:

> Our cedar has a long grain, and you can steam it. Every night we'd steam a board up in the bow, clamp it, and leave it overnight. Next morning, it'd be shaped. If we did that with Southern cedar, next day it'd be broke right in two. We didn't know that until we started using it. Fiberglass doesn't handle itself in water the way that cedar does—cedar takes in just the right amount of water. When it's first put there, it tends to sit right on top of the water. In a couple of weeks it soaks up the right amount of water and settles down. Then it handles really well. You can't beat cedar for a boat. (November 16, 1983 ATC002)

Regional boat types like the Jersey garvey and the Barnegat Bay sneakbox are symbolically powerful. While boats are found wherever there is water the world over, they also possess unique features that cater to their places of origin. They document, in a sense, the painstaking search of several generations of boatbuilders, baymen, and woodsmen, for a goodness of fit among natural resources and cultural and economic needs.

Garveys are not necessarily beautiful, but they are perfect. One of Joe Reid's customers told Tom Carroll, "A garvey's just about the ugliest thing in the world, but it makes a dynamite work boat. It's a flat-bottom boat. It's actually a working platform." Joe Reid's son and apprentice James said, "You can't beat a garvey for the bay." (October 8, 1983 RTC002)

Like other folklife expressions, boats encapsulate community life and values—the part has come to represent the whole. "Our heritage comes from boats," said Richard Gille, the Lacey Township zoning officer. (September 23, 1983, AMH008) We see paintings of traditional boats on restaurant walls, Barnegat Bay sneakboxes sketched on T-shirts, and an oyster schooner as the emblem on the Port Norris Volunteer Fire Company trucks. Old boats are an affecting presence in the region's coastal towns, made of the bounty of the inland swamps.

The cedar cutters play their part in the distribution of the valuable wood, keeping an eye out for clear cedar in the growing stands. The craftsmen at the receiving end appreciate their knowledge. "That guy really knows his wood," said Harry Shourds, of George Brewer, a lawyer in Dennisville. "He knows what's good for carving, for furniture, and for boats."

According to Floyd West, an outsider who married into an old New Gretna family, building a garvey in the old way helped to initiate him into the local community, reminiscent of the role of the fire company for the DeLeon family in Chatsworth.

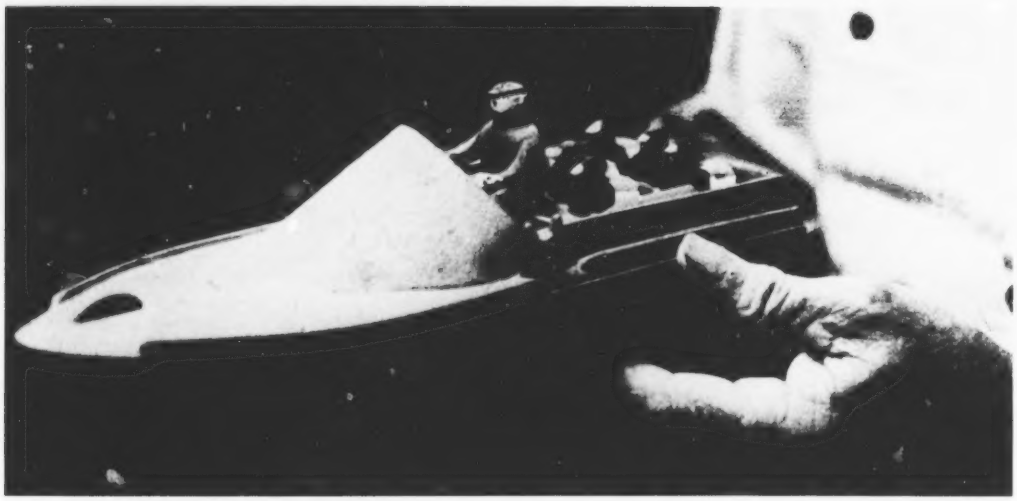
> I built a garvey out of Jersey cedar that grows in the swamps. Everyone who works in the bay knows how to build one. You cut your own trees and season them over the winter, and have them cut up at the sawmill. Then you build the kind of boat that was built two hundred years ago. Betty's father showed me how to do it. There are no plans or instructions. There were also a couple of boatbuilders in town for those who didn't want to build their own boats. Cooney Loveland was one. I watched other people building boats. And they would tell me how to do it.
>
> Every day I had visitors coming to see how the boat was coming. This was in the early fifties. People gathered at the Bass River Bridge in the mornings where the party boats left. This place was where people caught up on gossip business. My boat was the subject of much conversation. When they saw that I did it right, as they would have done it, they were pleased. If I hadn't done it right, I would have been the subject of ridicule. I was accepted, too, because I sought their advice. (September 23, 1983 RET004)

The skills and patterns for building Barnegat Bay sneakboxes, on the other hand, are jealously guarded from outsiders. The Barnegat Bay sneakbox, also built of Atlantic white cedar, is an ingenious example of a form born of and intended for use in a particular environment, in this case the brackish estuaries of South Jersey.

It is quite difficult to build. With its compound curves the boat resembles a giant melon seed from several vantage points. Each plank is curved in two different directions, and no two planks are curved in exactly the same places. George Heinrichs' father Gus made a separate pattern for each plank, which he numbered. When his father was dying, George vowed to him that he would never let the patterns out of the family. He recalled:

> I made a promise to my father that if I didn't build boats and my brother didn't, that I'd cut up the patterns and destroy them, because it's his pattern and no one has ever copied it. The Heinrichs sneakbox will die if I don't continue.[76]

Garveys by Joe Reid, Waretown. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 83BJC216,395-10-02.)



Miniature sneakbox made by Millard Heinrichs of New Gretna. (Photograph by Elaine Thatcher. 83BET216234-01-25.)

The craft is small—twelve feet long by four feet amidships. It generally accommodates one man or, as Heinrichs pointed out, a man and his boy. It is equipped with a mast-hole, centerboard well, and detachable rudder for sailing; oarlocks that fold down and a removable decoy rack to lower the boat's profile; runners for traveling on ice; and accessory ice hooks for breaking up porridge (slushy) and pane (hard) ice. Its spoon-shaped hull enables it to glide through areas marked as land on coastal maps, and its draft is shallow enough, as the saying goes, "to follow a mule as it sweats up a dusty road." Its sloping transom allows a hunter to row backwards in channels that are too narrow to turn around in.

It is linked in tradition with the Barnegat Bay decoy, with its characteristic dugout body, which carvers insist was specifically designed to lighten the burden on the tiny sneakbox. It is light enough that one man can pull it over land between channels. Ed Hazelton reported that a narrow spit of land between North Pond and Barnegat Bay derived the name "Draggin' Cross Place" from this practice.

The sneakbox efficiently synthesizes men and meadows. The planked-over deck, which keeps the gunners' legs warm, was often custom-made. "They used to build a sneakbox special for a man," Sam Hunt once said. "He used to lay down on the ground and they'd draw a circle around him and build a hatch so his belly could stick out."[77]

Sneakboxes are associated with native families. "I'm a third generation sneakbox builder," George Heinrichs told Elaine Thatcher. "I've been in the boat business all my life—it's in the blood. My father and all of his family were boatbuilders. We're just completely a boat family. That's the way we was born and raised." (October 1, 1983 RET009)

There is a pattern of miniature boat making among older men in the region, linked with intergenerational concerns. Both Hazelton and Conklin have made miniature sneakboxes for their children and grandchildren, as a way of encapsulating and bequeathing the heritage of the bays and meadows. Thus the miniature boat bears for them the distilled essence of personal and regional identity.

The appearance of miniature wooden boats at a time when most garveys and sneakboxes are built of fiberglass is significant. Susan Stewart suggests that nostalgia in the face of changing technology gives rise to miniatures:

> We cannot separate the function of the miniature from a nostalgia for preindustrial labor, a nostalgia for craft. We see a rise in the production of miniature furniture at the same time that the plans of Adam, Chippendale, and Sheraton are becoming reproduced in mass and readily available form. Contemporary dollhouses are distinctly not contemporary; it is probably not accidental that it is the Victorian period which is presently so popular for reproduction in miniature. . . . Whereas industrial labor is marked by the prevalence of repetition over skill and part over whole, the miniature object represents an antithetical mode of production: production by the hand, a production that is unique and authentic.[78]

It is interesting that Joe Reid, when asked by the State Historic Preservation Office to produce on paper the plans for his garveys, refused. "I might as well build the boat," he commented. He has never used such plans, priding himself on his ability to build his boats "by eye." Now that his advanced years have slowed down his boat building, he builds miniatures. "I want to make one of every kind of boat they used to use around here," he said, then added, laughing, "It kind of takes me back to my childhood." (November 16, 1983, ATC002.)

When we look at oyster schooners we learn that boats not only represent the self, the community, and the region, but are personified and in many ways treated as members of the community. Rita Moonsammy observes that on the Delaware Bay people and schooners are still fused in the language and customs surrounding the boats. Not only do boats have names, they have mortal bodies, life signs, personality traits, and life-cycles marked by christenings, burials, and resurrections. Moonsammy writes:

> "She" may be "dead" or "alive." If the former, the "bones" may be visible in some creek where the boat was "buried." Before that, when it was clear that the boat's condition was poor, the boat may have been "put in a coffin," that is, sheathed in tin to prolong its working life. "Living" boats may have "high heads," and "ribs." They may "breathe" and "groan". . . . "Smart" and "pleasant" boats maneuver well: "dumb" ones don't. "Able" boats carry well and are durable. "Tricky" and "cranky" boats are not too stable.[79]

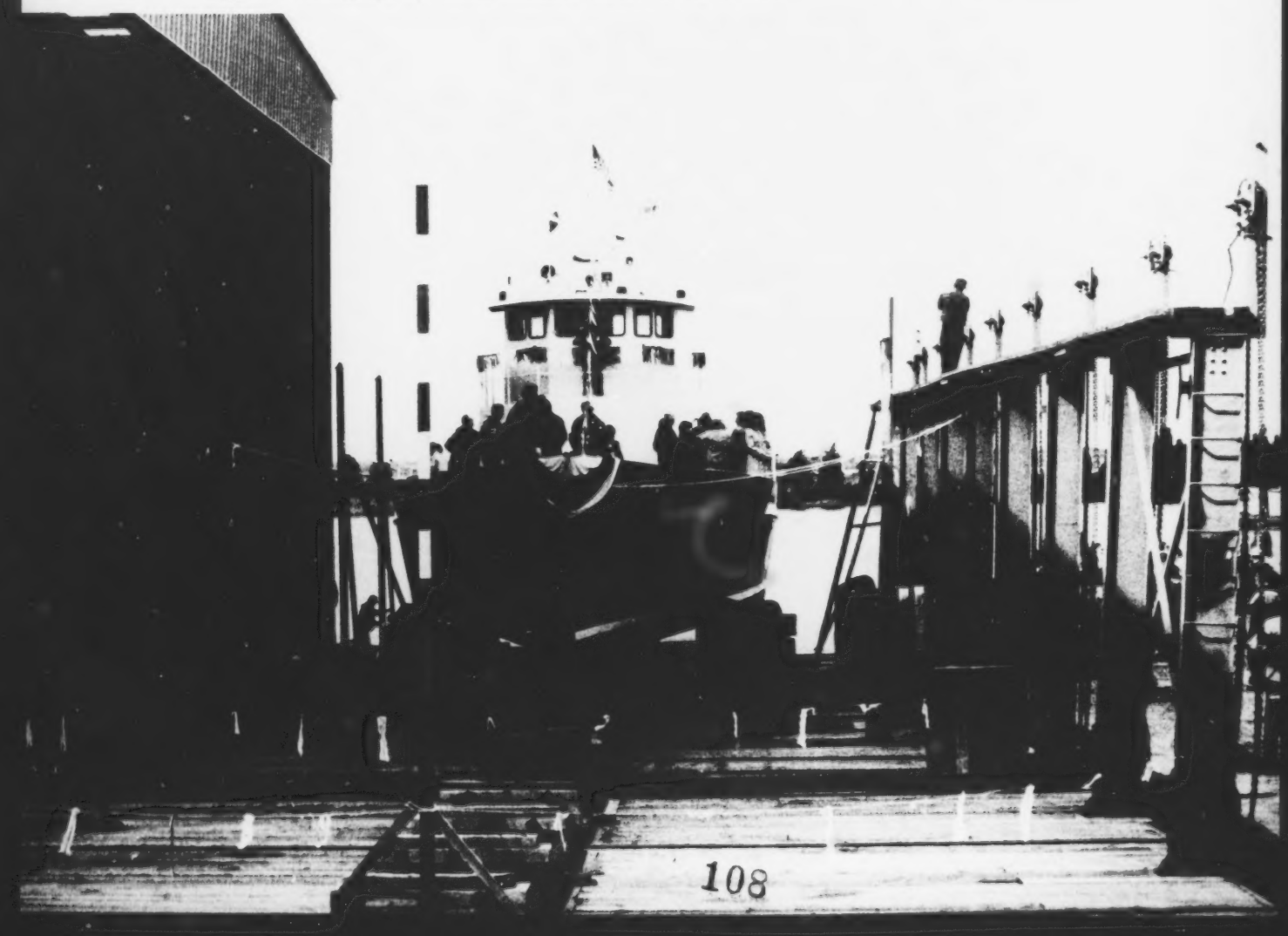
She further noted that, until about the middle of this century, schooners were in effect gauges of human life-cycles and social relationships:

> Most men [in bay communities] have worked both in the yard and on the boats. During dredging, in the words of Belford Blackman, a youth would begin learning "how to work and how to work the boats" in the "middle

deck" of a family boat. There he would cull and clean up. But John DuBois noted that this was the "wrong end of the boat." The role of captain was usually aspired to. The achievement of it represented maturity and manhood in the work community. No matter what his age, the captain was called the "old man," while the crew were "the boys." When the captain became too frail to continue as "master" of the boat, he would usually become the cook, an assignment that kept him aboard in a useful role.[80]

The boats are cultural vessels. Like the yardscapes mentioned earlier, they convey information about social situations, for which they are also blueprints. Like other forms of traditional resource management, they bring the past through the present and into the future, requiring that three generations work together, and richly interweaving the process of natural resource transformation with human life-cycles and social roles. However, blueprints, musical scores, recipes, and maps all require skilled interpreters. We cannot consider the folklife expressions apart from their custodians—the old-timers who are as important a backdrop as the tides.

The launching of the Robert C. Morgan, a translation of the wooden schooner into steel, Dorchester shipyard. (Photograph by Elaine Thatcher. 83BET217561-01-33.)



TELLING THE REGION:
OLD-TIMERS AS LANDSCAPE RESOURCES

Environmental Masters and Apprentices

During an exchange visit that Gerald Parsons orchestrated between two railbird hunters from New Jersey and Maryland, the conversation drifted to old-timers. They were sitting in a marsh along the Patuxent River.

"Any old-timers down here you run into to talk to?" Frank Astemborski of Delanco, New Jersey, asked Jim Owings of Bethesda, Maryland.

"Used to bump into Ralph Sutherland once in awhile," Owings answered. "He'd come down and you'd see him once in awhile pushin' his son. But I haven't seen him in years. And I see Mrs. Greenwell. I go up and stop in and say hello to her once in awhile."

For Astemborski and other sportsmen on the Maurice River marshes, the old-timer and teacher par excellence is Albert Reeves, who for more than eight decades has worked the cycle there—pushing railbirds; drifting for shad, catfish, and rockfish (striped bass); "corking" (caulking) boats; and tending the bridge between Mauricetown and Port Elizabeth.

"Boy, he's fun," said Astemborski. "I could listen to him all day. He's slippin' a lot now, but years ago he really had the tales and stories. He shoulda been an actor, that fellow. Good storyteller."

Old-timers do not necessarily see themselves as old-timers. If they are old-timers, it is strictly a de facto arrangement. "I shouldn't brag," said Albert Reeves to Gerald Parsons, "but I was one of the best. Of course, they can't nobody deny it, because there's nobody near my age to talk about it. All the old timers are gone."

Herb "Snapper" Misner of Medford is another authoritative figure who holds forth on a regular basis at the Evergreen Dairy Bar on Route 70. "They say if you swallow snapper's heart, you'll never be ascared, while it's still beatin'. That's what they used to tell the kids, them old-timers," says Misner. (April 9, 1985 AMH003) Joe Reid, in his 70s, likes to hear stories from Rudolph Camburn, who is in his 80s.

A number of our key informants were such old-timers: older outdoorsmen in their 70s or more who are recognized and appreciated for their experience and knowledge in their communities. They included Joe Reid of Waretown, Ted Ramp of Egg Harbor, Tom Brown of Millville, Jack Davis of Browns Mills, Jack Cervetto of Warren Grove, Bill Lee of Port Elizabeth, Harry Payne of Whiting, Alexander Davis of Port Norris, Herb Misner of Medford, and Robly Champion of Port Republic.

The old-timers will continue to function in a useful role as long as they have younger witnesses—apprentices like Frank Astemborski, Mary Ann Paolino, Floyd West, and James Reid, who are the old timers of the future. (Astemborski, incidentally, has tape-recorded Albert Reeves.) Hugh Lamonaca understands the history of his peach farm because of the stories he heard when he was a boy. "The older people that lived here a long time before, they explained it all to me," he said. (June 23, 1985 AMO001)

If these old-timers—acknowledged masters of their environments—already serve as resources for local people, they could serve as excellent resources for planners.

The most important lessons in this report were given to us by such younger tradition-bearers as Frank Astemborski, James Reid, David Ridgway, Eddie Lamonaca, Floyd West, Joanne Van Istendal and others who are actively seeking out facets of the collective memory. In a few decades they will be the new old-timers.

The Human Unit of Time

A critical balance between past and present is maintained when young generations have access to the elders. It is that vital interaction that keeps the pumps to the collective memory primed, for the deepest places in this vast reservoir are in the minds of old-timers. Their memories can have an important and unforeseen impact on young people. When a very old person describes something he heard from his grandfather to a grandchild or great-grandchild, the listening child can be touched by two hundred years of history, in a way not provided by books. Margaret Mead describes this phenomenon as the human unit of time: "the space between a grandfather's memory of his own childhood and a grandson's knowledge of those memories as he heard about them."[81]

Such information is, of course, often tapped by historians, archeologists and naturalists, as the following account from Wilson shows:

> One resident of Freehold, Monmouth County, recalled that in the 1860s he had heard an account from an old man who lived in Ocean County. This Ocean County man said that his grandfather remembered a few Indians coming each summer to the shore to get clams which were dried on slabs or bark and carried away. The question arose how they extracted the mollusk without tearing it. In answer to that, the Freehold observer said he had found in the same oyster shell pile near Keyport, noted earlier, a little implement made of jasper, about two inches long and an inch and a half wide. One end was carefully chipped to a round, cutting edge. One side was concave; the other convex, and chipped. This spoon-shaped gouge was the Indian's oyster knife and clam knife. Later, several more were found. Subjected to heat, the mollusk would open a little way and it was then easy to pry the shells more widely apart and with this gouge-like implement sever the muscle of the mollusk by a scooping movement.[82]

Such stories are valuable not only as corroborating evidence for the history of technology, but also as the product of vital intergenerational contact. We need to foster and monitor such contact. Berger and Sinton record a similar memory chain with fewer links:

> When Captain J. R. Crowley was a boy in the 1870s, he once stood on the Green Bank Bridge and counted fifty-seven masts on the Mullica River, most of them on boats loading charcoal, wood, and glass for New York. Cap'n Crowley told the story to Rodney Koster who was born in 1907 in Herman City ... Over the course of Uncle Rod Koster's life, the masts disappeared, and the boat works, once scattered up and down all the coastal rivers, also disappeared as boatbuilding became the province of either single craftsmen or large factories.[83]

The chain extends not just to memories, but to skills and customs. Hunting dog culture, **an old local practice,** is rooted in antiquity. The strain of hunting dogs used today in the region is related to hounds brought over from Europe in the whaling days, along with, some say, the red fox.[84] From Grant Trader and Elwood Ford, who were in their 70s when he was a boy, Tom Brown learned to set "snares" and "snoos," techniques of trapping that the Indians used.[85] (These are now illegal.) Many local people still fertilize their gardens with bunkers, a practice widely believed to have originated with the Indians.[86]

Old-timers play an important role in the life of these resources which, in turn, enliven the topography, natural resources, people, and places. Whenever a child, grandchild, or great-grandchild has been born to Tom Brown, Tom has inscribed his name and the child's name and birthdate on the shell of a box turtle, according to a custom in Cumberland County:

> Now I got a box turtle that's come back every year for 27 years. Twenty-seven years ago I put "Pop-pop" and "Dawn" on it, and put the date, and it come back again this year. It's blind. It's been blind for about five years, but it comes right to the back door and my wife'll feed it bread and we put it down in the window box for a few days and then release it. And this year, one I did for the great-granddaughter Muriel — I only just did that in '81 — that one come back. (84FMH06012)

Thus a living family register moves through the varied landscapes on the shells of turtles.

Other grandparents told us of gifts they gave that are regional emblems. Ed Hazelton and Hurley Conklin carved miniature sneakboxes for their grandchildren, while Joe Reid gave his granddaughter an eleven-foot garvey.

Many old-timers are important topics in their own right, subjects themselves of a genre that Cochrane calls the "local character anecdote."[87] Dozens of names came up repeatedly in various communities: Albert Reeves, Frankie Penn, Jeff Allen, Allie Chor, Acton Bunnell, Jack Davis, Clarence Webb, Rudolf Camburn, and Rube Corlies.

Acton Bunnell was a good storyteller, one of Cliff Frazee's favorites: "He used to say, You can always judge a man by his tools,'" Cliff recalled. (84FMH0408) Harry Payne remembered Bunnell as one of his father's contemporaries:

> Was an old fellow from down at Waretown, fellow by the name of Acton Bunnell. He was a fisherman. Shellfish and other kinds of fish. He was tellin' about Jerry Munyhun. Said that Jerry had sold his soul to the devil so that he have unusual powers over other human beings. He was a man about my father's age, and I guess Pop met him through buying salt hay for his horses. Once in awhile he'd come by and he'd sit down and talk and have dinner together. He'd say "Charlie, remember old Jerry Munyhun? Remember?" Pop'd say, "Yeah, I heard about him," and tell the story all over again. (November 12, 1983 RMH032)

"All those old guys," said Ed Hazelton, "Their word was their bond. Wonderful, ingenious, inventive."

Everyone in Manahawkin knew Rube Corlies, a bayman and consummate sneakbox maker. "Rube Corlies was honest as the day is long," recalled Hazelton, "His face had that shine, that patina—the weathered look that comes with age. His family was all sea captains."

In a local newspaper article entitled "Old Rube," John Spodofora recalled:

> I was just one of the many twelve-year-old kids who would sit around in amazement listening to his never ending supply of stories. There were stories about everything from mermaids to sea captains, but most of them were about his hunting and fishing experiences. . . . Most of the kids who used to hang around in the old barn in back of his house which he converted into workshop for making decoys and sneakboxes learned a lot from him and his stories. Most of what we learned we never really understood until we were much older and wiser.[88]

David Ridgway, a bayman in his thirties, goes into the local schools as a storyteller. Some of his stories came from Rube Corlies.

> Rube Corlies was a good friend of mine. . . . I ever tell you the story, just before he died? He was 94 years old. He was about four foot high, and in his later years he carried a settin' pole to keep his balance—you know, a settin' pole's something you pole a boat with—he carried one, and it was about ten foot long, and here he was about four foot high, and he's goin' down the road. Hell of a nice guy. You couldn't meet a nicer man. But every time you'd meet him on the road he'd stop and he'd talk your ears off. I used to go over to his shop where he built the sneakbox—as a matter of fact, I cut him lumber and stuff for the last sneakbox he built. And he had a chair, and if you didn't sit in it just right you went clear through it. He'd sit there and he had little wire rimmed glasses and he would talk and talk and talk — and I'll tell you, he was very interesting. You know, he was a real craftsman. The way he designed his sneakboxes was an art. He did everything by hand.[89]

In every community entered we encountered a handful of elders who possess a wealth of information about various places and habitats. Some of them were concerned that public policies and regulations discourage children from learning about the seasonal rounds of options. Lou Peterson, who as a youngster hauled seine to net bait fish for money using an abandoned boat he dug up from the meadow said that now without proper licensing this would be illegal. "What they've done is they've just destroyed the youth just by passing laws,as far as I'm concerned," he commented. (October 29, 1983 RJL019) "They're trying to stop the leghold trap, you know," said Bill Lee to Eugene Hunn. "That's one of the worst things that ever happened, especially to the kids."

An influx of newcomers who have not had the benefit of the old-timers' tutelage may not know what they do not know. "The old-timers know to check the fire index," said Jack Cervetto. "The young people don't seem to check for it." "Children who move in here aren't trained to live in the area," said Mary-Ann Thompson, summarizing the problem succinctly.

Years ago Margaret Mead warned that "a society that cuts off older people from meaningful contact with children . . . is greatly endangered.[90] The Commission cannot maintain a living landscape without encouraging younger generations, newcomers and professional planners to learn from the region's older indigenous teachers. The only possible way to maintain true continuity with the past in the region is by promoting that direct flow of memories, knowledge, and skills from those who have them to those who should receive them. As the region's official managers and interpreters, the Commission could channel such memories, knowledge, and skills through its formal programs of development review and public education.

Larry Baglio, of Port Norris, "corking" (caulking) a boat for Capt. Lou Peterson. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. 84BJC222306-04-31.)

CULTURAL CONSERVATION AND THE PINELANDS NATIONAL RESERVE

The Collective Memory: A Resource to Conserve

Public policy ideally arises from a consensus as to what constitutes the common good. It is the will of the majority made manifest in government. Cultural conservation, on the other hand, is often concerned with rarities—traditions that are made visible through contrast with those that are most common. Many tradition-bearers in the National Reserve—eelers, boat builders, trappers, colliers, and glassblowers are in the minority. The effect of their scarcity on their survival is much the opposite of the effect of scarcity on Pine Barrens tree frogs and curly-grass fern—a parallel that Tom Brown recently marked with a sign that says: "Trappers: An Endangered Species." The realization that flora and fauna are endangered often results in the creation of advocacy groups to protect them through legislative channels. However, because of their marginal status, the bearers of endangered traditional skills do not inspire such advocates.

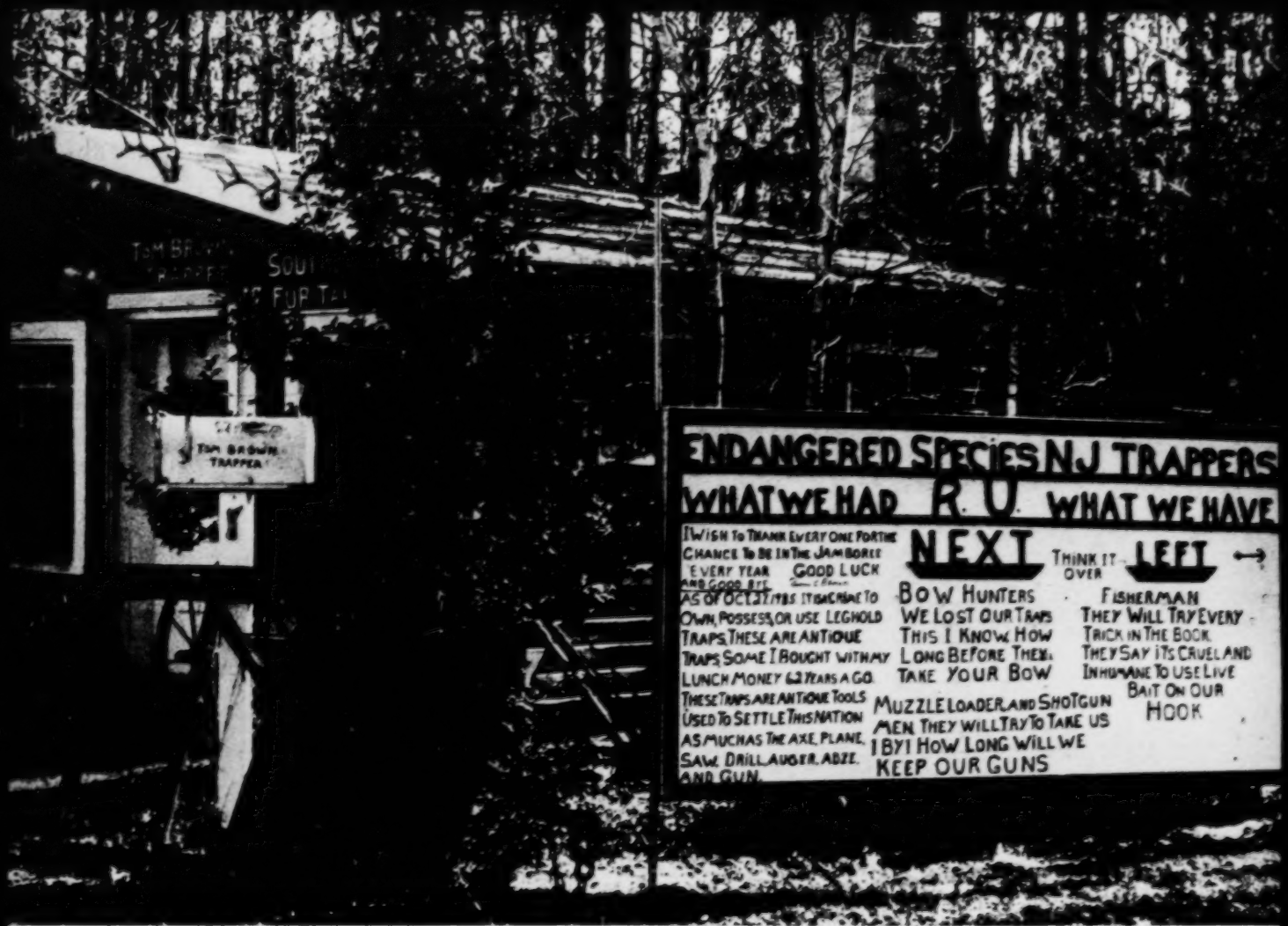
The Cohansey Aquifer is protected by, among other things, its immense popularity, brought about through a national public-relations campaign. It is protected by the will of the majority. Our experience in the region showed that many who know a great deal about the region's natural history and geology know very little about the traditional lifeways there. Unless traditional lifeways are well defined, the Commission may find it difficult to translate into action its stated commitment to protect them.

By and large, we protect ecosystems by understanding the relationships between parts and their wholes. The Pinelands National Reserve safeguards its natural resources not simply by preserving a cedar swamp here and a tree frog population there but by protecting the enormous body of water that sustains all swamps and all amphibians in the region. It also sustains all cranberry growers, trappers, and canoeists, making the current plan, by extension, a cultural protection plan.

Along the same lines, we cannot effectively protect the living landscape by recording a boat pattern here and restoring a forge there without paying attention to the wellspring that animates them—the collective memory.[91] One way to focus the cultural conservation effort is to develop an ongoing commitment to conserving local knowledge as it is concentrated in the collective memory, which may be discovered and interpreted through ethnographic methods. Folklife expressions are an index to the health of this collective memory, which we might regard as the cultural equivalent of the Cohansey Aquifer.

Like the aquifer, the collective memory cannot be looked at, or photographed all at once. Both are "bodies": one a body of water, the other, a body of knowledge. Specialists with the proper tools and training can assess them by making intelligent spot checks.[92] Like the aquifer, the collective memory can be tracked from where it surfaces, but in human minds rather than in headwaters.

These expressions then are not the principal objects of conservation, though they may certainly be preserved as texts. Here the distinction between "conservation" and "preservation" is instructive. Preservation arrests the evolution or decay of a barn, a cucumber, or a tract of wilderness. Conservation enhances the potential of a renewable resource, efficiently moving it through a cycle of


TOM BROWN
TRAPPER
ENDANGERED SPECIES NJ TRAPPERS
WHAT WE HAD R.U. WHAT WE HAVE
I WISH TO THANK EVERY ONE FOR THE CHANCE TO BE IN THE JAMBOREE EVERY YEAR GOOD LUCK AND GOOD BYE
AS OF OCT 21/85 IT IS ILLEGAL TO OWN, POSSESS, OR USE LEGHOLD TRAPS. THESE ARE ANTIQUE TRAPS. SOME I BOUGHT WITH MY LUNCH MONEY 62 YEARS A GO.
THESE TRAPS ARE ANTIQUE TOOLS USED TO SETTLE THIS NATION AS MUCH AS THE AXE, PLANE, SAW, DRILL AUGER, ADZE, AND GUN.
NEXT
BOW HUNTERS WE LOST OUR TRAPS THIS I KNOW. HOW LONG BEFORE THEY TAKE YOUR BOW
MUZZLE LOADER AND SHOTGUN MEN. THEY WILL TRY TO TAKE US 1 BY 1 HOW LONG WILL WE KEEP OUR GUNS
THINK IT OVER
LEFT
FISHERMAN THEY WILL TRY EVERY TRICK IN THE BOOK. THEY SAY IT'S CRUEL AND INHUMANE TO USE LIVE BAIT ON OUR HOOK

Sign in front of Tom Brown's trapper's cabin, Millville. (Photograph by Mary Hufford. 86BMH248521-01-13.)

use, renewal, and re-use. Conservation entails careful attention to the co-evolving features within a system. The Commission's job, with respect to the living culture of the National Reserve, is to minimize loss of cultural vitality due to development, and to enhance the potential of vital cultural resources wherever possible.

The collective memory is a renewable resource. Unlike artifacts, however, it is not detachable from its sources. Decoys, song texts, and packing houses are, to borrow an observation from Barre Toelken, simply the footprints of the collective memory.[93] They should not be seen as the thing itself, but as valuable evidence of it.

Public Policy and Cultural Conservation

Sometimes public policy and cultural conservation appear to be at cross purposes. Government protection of natural resources affects traditional lifeways in many ways. Such regulations are imposed not only by the Pinelands Commission, but by agencies at the federal, state, county, and municipal levels. Within the state's Department of Environmental Protection; the various regulations of the Division of Fish, Game and Wildlife; the Division of Forestry; and the Division of Parks and Recreation all have affected traditional lifeways in the National Reserve in ways that are sometimes unwittingly positive and sometimes unwittingly negative. No single regulation is capable of destroying traditional culture, but their combined effect has contributed to the erosion of local lifeways.

We heard many accounts of regulations impinging on traditional lifeways. New Gretna residents spoke of how purchase of land by the government drives the local tax base up, eventually forcing out those who cannot afford the taxes. (83RMO011) In Hammonton, farmers provided examples of how minimum acreage requirements for development confound community systems of building homes for newlywedded children or for retired parents near the principal family dwelling. (85RMO003) Other residents pointed out that planners seem unaware of the importance of the sand roads that provide access to resources and that link woodland and coastal communities.

A farmer in Medford claims that planners and engineers do not have the fine-grained view of the landscape that local farmers do. A developer in the protection area chafes over zoning that prohibits development on sugar sand—land that is useless for anything else, (83FCC1024) while the heavier development permitted on the fringes of the reserve leads to the rapid growth and conflicts described by Ed Hazelton and Janice Sherwood in the opening section of this report.

Growers, woodspeople and baypeople report that their working environments are injured by unconstrained recreational use. Baymen in Delmont claim that regulation of gear for trapping and fishing puts a strain on those who work the seasonal round, sometimes eliminating occupational options. (RJL022, AEH001) A number of fishermen and trappers lament the thousands of fish and young muskrats that are lost each year shortly after the county mosquito commissions begin to spray for mosquitos at the start of the tourist season. Mosquito commission biologists deny any connection between the spraying and the deaths.

Trappers, however, continue to see an irony in the sacrifice of muskrats for the benefit of recreational users, when the state is simultaneously protecting the muskrats from leg-hold traps. The ban on leg-hold traps will make muskrats impossible to harvest in ponds.

These conflicting values—recreational versus economic, urban versus rural, scientific versus ethnic—pose classic dilemmas for planners. Perhaps all of the regulations touched on here are necessary for the common good, but they were probably passed without any deliberation about the local lifeways they affect.

Where government policies *do* support traditional practices, this effect is often unintentional. Federal fiscal policies during the inflationary period of the 1960s and 70s, promoted the work of decoy carvers, quilters, and other craftspeople, because collectors invested in artifacts that would appreciate in value and might become tax-deductible donations to museums.

The state of Maryland prohibits dredging for oysters under power, thus conserving both oysters and sailing vessels. Maryland also supports diversification among its watermen by issuing watermen's licenses, in contrast to New Jersey, where separate licenses have to be purchased for each piece of gear. In New Jersey, the state's Green Acres Program buffers farmers against pressure from developers.

The Division of Fish, Game and Wildlife sometimes relies on the knowledge and skills of indigenous teachers like Tom Brown, who, as a volunteer for the Trapper Education Program, teaches trapping to novices seeking state licenses. In the National Reserve, traditional outdoorsmen benefit from the government acquisition of forests and wetlands that enables them to continue lumbering, hunting, fishing and trapping—activities that would be curtailed by development.

The *Comprehensive Management Plan* may even be conserving old house forms inadvertently. According to a story circulating in Chatsworth, one man circumvented a ban on the construction of new dwellings by rebuilding his house from the inside, and then replacing the outside. The new house, slightly smaller, occupies the same ground. (83FBB1022)

Some state and federal agencies deliberately foster public awareness of traditional culture through programs like the Folk-Artists-in-Education program sponsored by the New Jersey State Council on the Arts. The Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts sponsors the National Heritage Awards and also funds an apprenticeship program whereby an accomplished tradition-bearer is paid to take on an apprentice.

The Department of the Interior, through the National Park Service, also is exploring ways to incorporate folklife into its historic preservation program.[94] The mission of the Service's Jean Lafitte National Historical Park is to interpret the traditional culture with historic roots in southern Louisiana. Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve maintains a living historic landscape in Washington state.

The Office of Preservation Planning in the city of Easton Pennsylvania is introducing a Cultural Heritage Bill to the state legislature that could protect, among other aspects of heritage, the "sense of place" of participating communities.[95]

Pinelands Commission Goals and Policies

The goals and policies of the Pinelands Commission center around five groups of resources and users. The five resource goals are as follows:

1) Natural Resources Goal: Preserve, protect, and enhance the overall ecological values of the Pinelands, including its large forested areas, its essential character, and its potential to recover from disturbance.

2) Historic and Cultural Goal: Maintain and enhance the historic and cultural resources of the Pinelands.

3) Agricultural and Horticultural Goal: Preserve and enhance agricultural and horticultural uses that are compatible with the preservation and protection of the overall ecological values of the Pinelands.

4) Development Goal: Accommodate residential, commercial, and industrial development in a way that is compatible with the preservation and protection of the overall ecological and cultural values of the Pinelands.

5) Recreation Goal: Protect and enhance outdoor recreational uses and the natural resources on which they depend.[96]

In tandem with the historic and cultural resource goal are the policies that most explicitly address folklife resources. These include:

- Maintaining opportunities for traditional lifestyles that are related to and compatible with the overall ecological values of the Pinelands;
- Maintaining the social and cultural integrity of traditional Pinelands communities; and
- Maintaining and enhancing historic and archeological areas and sites of national, state, and local importance.

Pinelands Folklife Project Recommendations

When we initiated the Pinelands Folklife Project we assumed that a folklife perspective could help the Commission to implement its policies. In the project we sought to identify a diversity of traditional lifestyles and communities, and to describe how those lifestyles and communities relate to the resources and uses addressed by the Commission's other resource goals. If the Commission wishes to conserve folklife in the National Reserve it must be aware that the plan and procedures as currently structured fail to address certain needs. These needs fall into five groups.

1) Folklife Representation on the Staff

Folklife resources are not formally represented on the Commission's staff. Folklife comprises a significant part of the Reserve's special character and warrants specialized representation by Commission staff in the planning process. Yet, while biologists represent vegetation and archeologists represent ancient ruins, there is no qualified specialist to represent traditional resources and tradition bearers and no requirement that such a specialist should be consulted during the resource protection planning process.

2) A Clear Focus for Protection of Traditional Lifeways

There is no clear and comprehensive inventory of traditional resources in the National Reserve. The Pinelands Folklife Project survey identified a range of traditional lifeways and expressions, as well as the natural resources and habitats that support them. However, in order to systematically identify and protect folklife resources, the Commission will have to hire a specialist to develop and continually update an inventory.

3) An Integrated Approach to Resource Protection

Folklife resource protection requires an integrated approach, combining scientific and humanistic perspectives. Folklife resources are implied in all the resource groups. Although folklife appears to fall naturally under the historic and cultural resource group, planners should realize that folklife cannot be isolated for treatment. Because folklife is integral to all of the resource and use groups, the division of the resources into five groups hides regional culture under other names. While it is helpful to divide the resources up for the purposes of study and administration, cultural conservation requires a more integrated view of the region's resources.

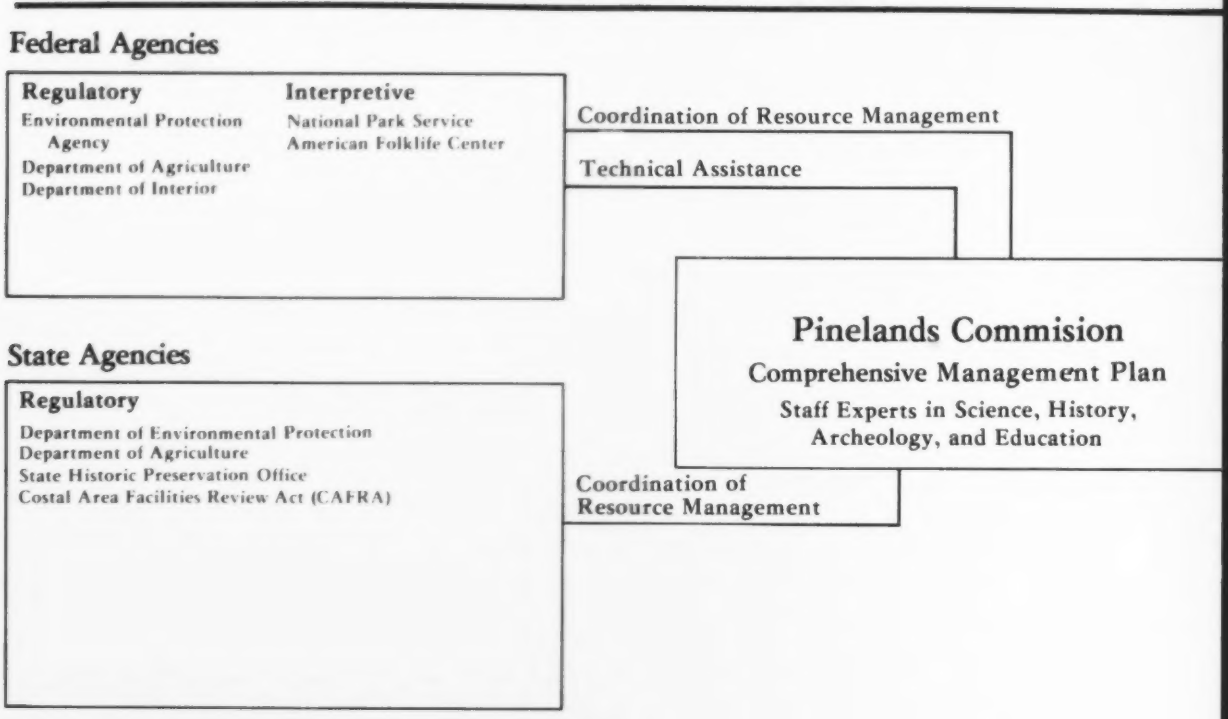
4) Intergovernmental Coordination for the Protection of Folklife Resources

Like natural resources, folklife resources are affected by federal, state, and local policies, as well as by those set by the Commission. Regulations and programs administered by the state's Coastal Area Facilities Review Act (CAFRA), Department of Environmental Protection, and Department of Education, and by county and municipal governments all affect traditional lifeways. The Commission's effort at intergovernmental coordination will have to address traditional lifeways as well, taking note of where local, state, and federal policies inhibit or enhance traditional lifeways.[97] An active collaboration will lead to more conscious and effective policies for all agencies.

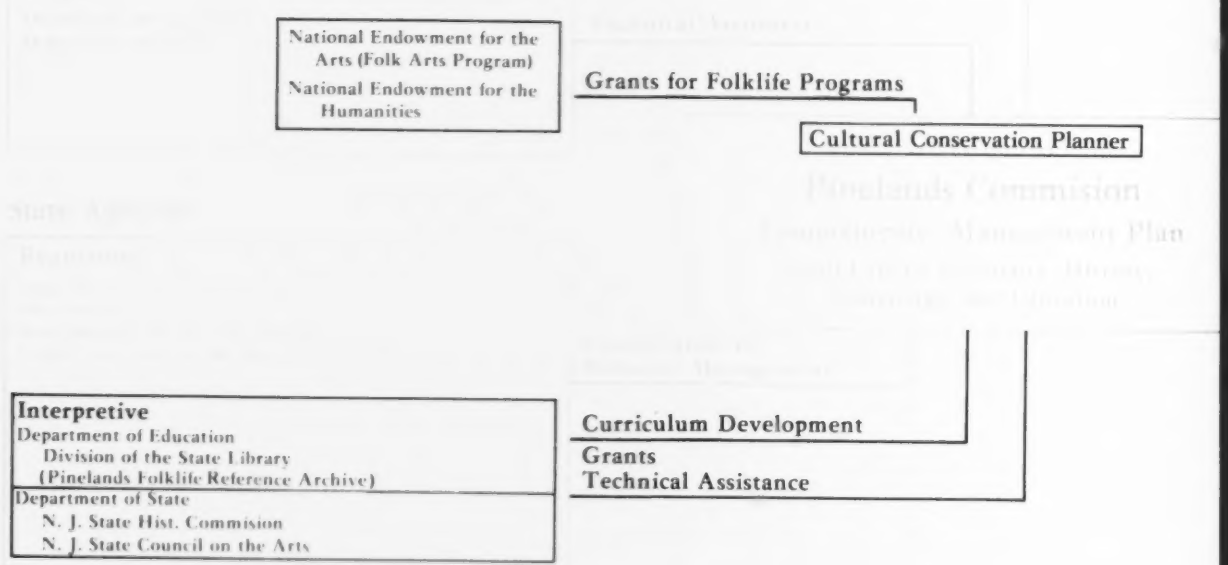
5) Cultural Conservation Initiatives at the Local Level

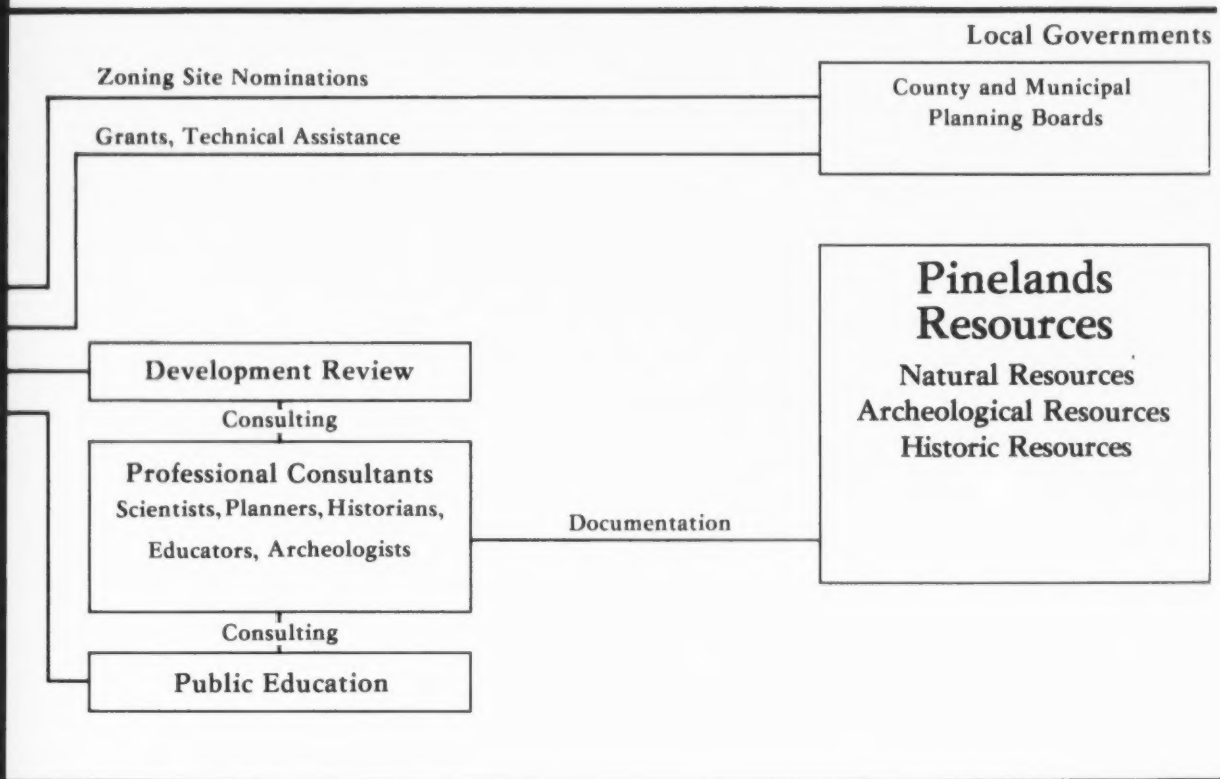
Protection of folklife resources must proceed from local recognition of their value and from the desire of local people to maintain them. Public hearings are not effective in gathering this kind of information. In the course of planning and development review the Commission should develop a mechanism to solicit recommendations from individuals in each community who are informed about traditional land-use.

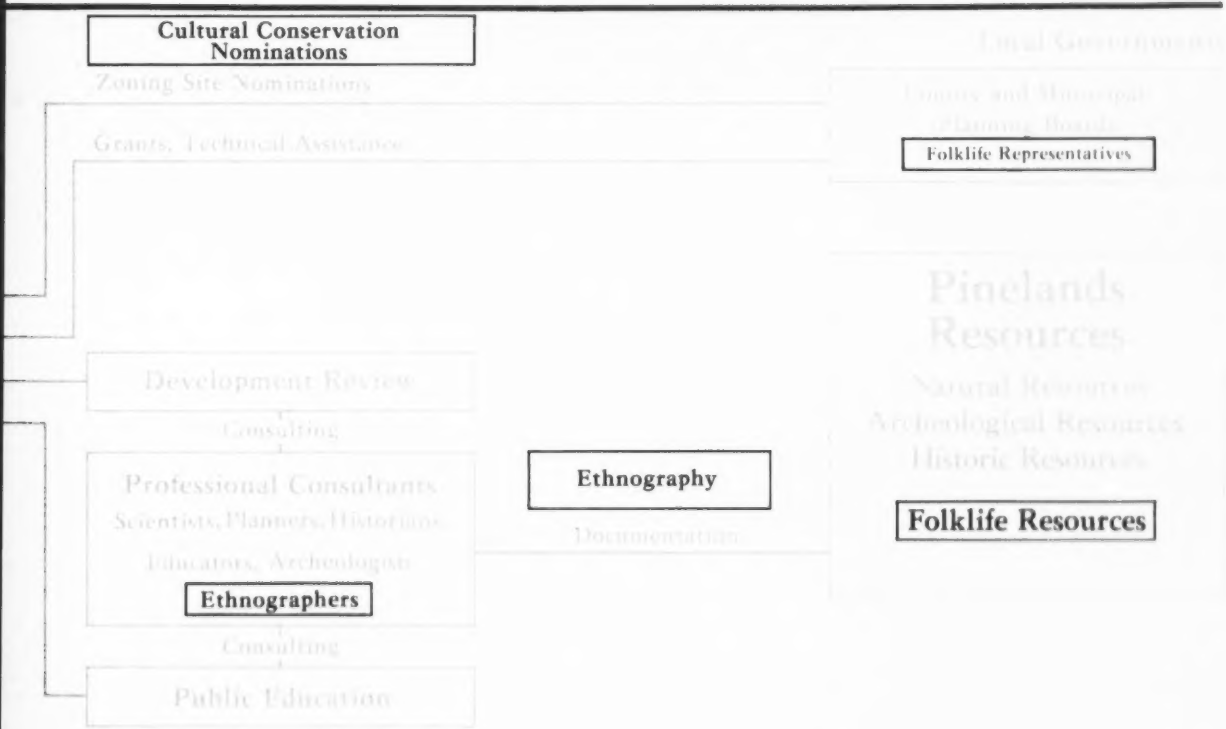
Intergovernmental Coordination for Pinelands Resource Protection



Recommendations for Cultural Conservation




Local Governments
Zoning Site Nominations
Grants, Technical Assistance
County and Municipal Planning Boards
Pinelands Resources
Natural Resources
Archeological Resources
Historic Resources
Development Review
Consulting
Professional Consultants
Scientists, Planners, Historians, Educators, Archeologists
Documentation
Consulting
Public Education


Cultural Conservation Nominations
Folklife Representatives
Ethnography
Folklife Resources
Ethnographers

Summary of Recommendations

In order to strengthen its work in cultural conservation, then, we recommend that the Commission:

1) Hire a folklife specialist to serve as the staff cultural conservation planner;

2) Develop a clear focus for cultural conservation, centered on traditional land-use themes;

3) Integrate internal approaches to the protection of all resources, combining the perspectives of specialists in the sciences and humanities in the course of development review and public education;

4) Coordinate the cultural conservation effort with federal, state, and local agencies; and

5) Add local representatives to the municipal planning boards to make formal cultural conservation nominations to the Commission, and to serve as folklife consultants in the development review process.

The Role of the Cultural Conservation Planner

The Cultural Conservation Planner (CCP) will lend a strong humanistic dimension to the Commission's programs of documentation, public education, and development review. The chief task of this position will be to keep the Commission and the public apprised of the region's folklife resources, through a program of ongoing documentation and presentation.

The CCP will work with federal, state, and local agencies to develop policies and programs consistent with the Commission's resource protection goals. He or she also will work with the Commission staff to integrate folklife conservation with historic preservation and environmental protection in the reserve. The CCP also will assist with the appointment of folklife consultants to the municipal preservation boards, and will train them to do fieldwork in their communities.

The CCP will work with federal, state, and local resources to continue developing the folklife data base, and to present folklife to the public. He or she also could lend technical assistance to municipal preservation boards, educators, historic and cultural groups, and park personnel; apply for grants for special programs; attend planning meetings; conduct fieldwork in sites where development applications are pending; oversee cultural conservation planning grants from the Commission to municipalities, counties, and parks for folklife research and presentation; write a folklife column for *The Pinelander*; and help to present folklife in other publications, schools, record albums, and local radio and television programs.

Focusing on Land-Use Themes

There is at present no clear and comprehensive inventory of traditional culture. Because traditional culture is constantly evolving, such an inventory can never be complete, nor can the items in that inventory be limited to a set of fixed traditional activities and expressions. One approach that provides both focus and flexibility is to group the resources according to land-use themes.

The theme of working the cycles—cycles being economic as well as seasonal—provides a framework for integrating natural, historic, and folklife resources in the planning process. The seasonal round is the collective memory made visible. It is the region's oldest living cultural resource, and it provides us with a set of land-use themes to which folklife resources are tied.

Folklife resources are the elements in a complex of people, places, events, processes, knowledge, skills, materials, and artifacts that promote a sense of shared past, lifeways, and values within a community.

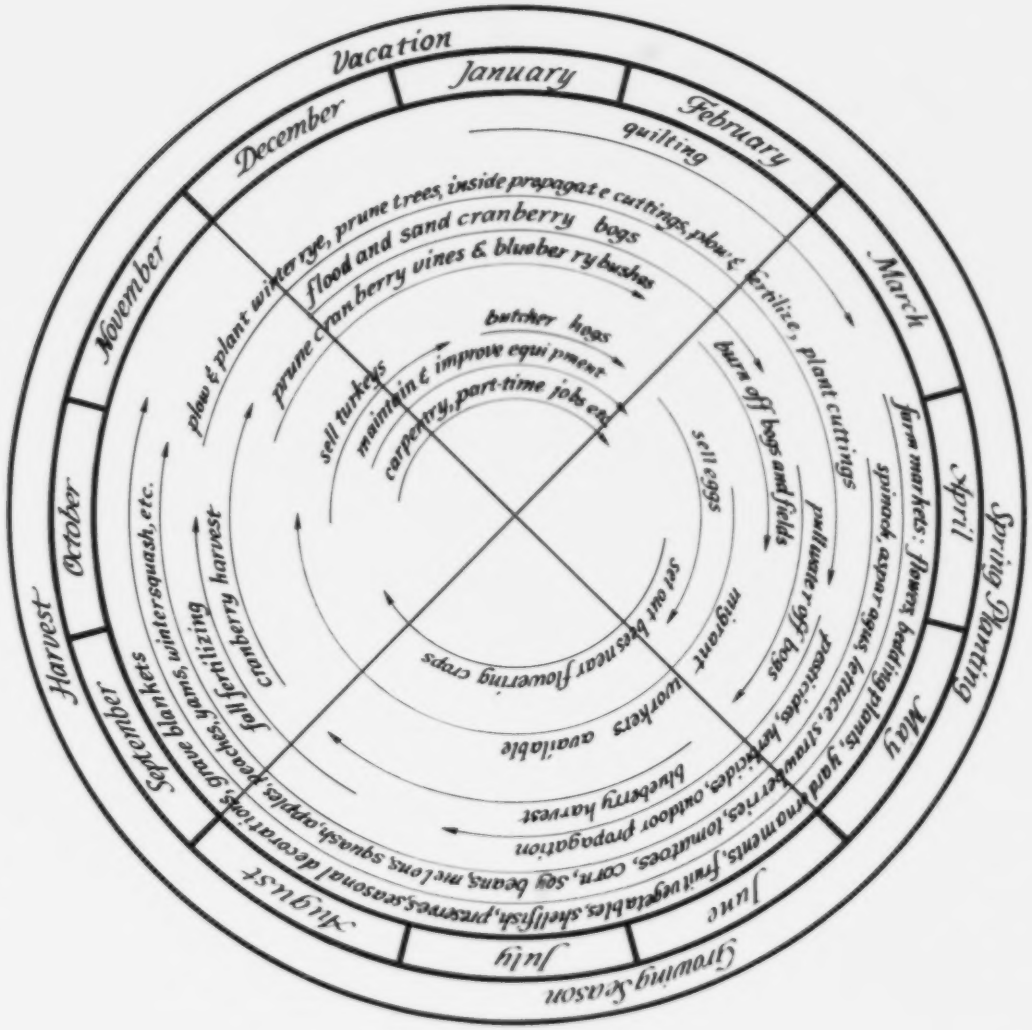
The land-use themes of woodsmanship, baymanship, agriculture, and community resources could be used to generate folklife resource groups, and could also provide an overall structuree for interpreting both contemporary and historic resources.

WOODLANDS

* year-round option

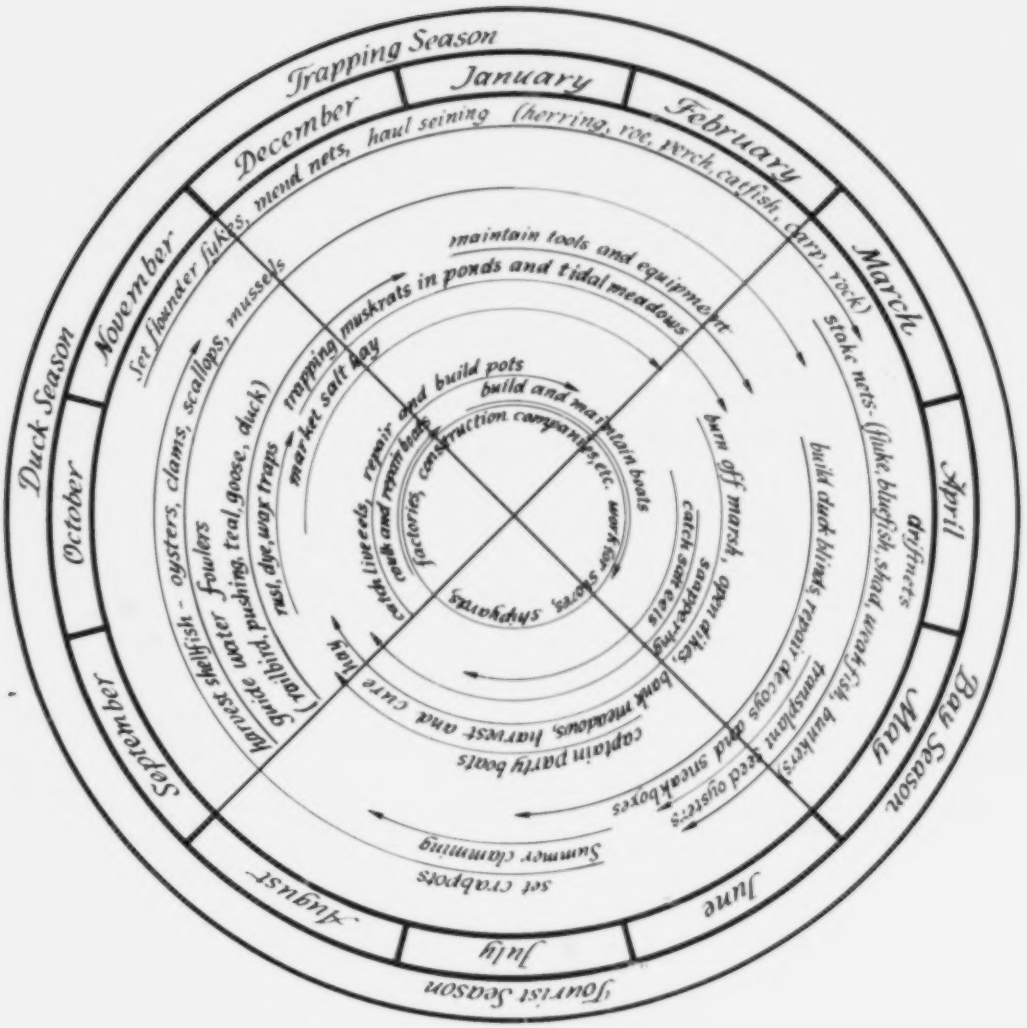
Woodsmanship, the ability to make a living from the woods, includes activities, knowledge and skills, places, buildings, equipment, artifacts, and people related to the cycles worked in the upland forests and swamps. Aspects to document and designate may include, among other things, gathering, lumbering, sawmills (contemporary as well as historic), corduroy roads, moss presses, pinecone popping sheds, water checking, guiding, deer hunting, making and naming places in the woods, control burning and fire-fighting, fox chasing, trapping, recipes for wild game, and charcoal making.

AGRICULTURE



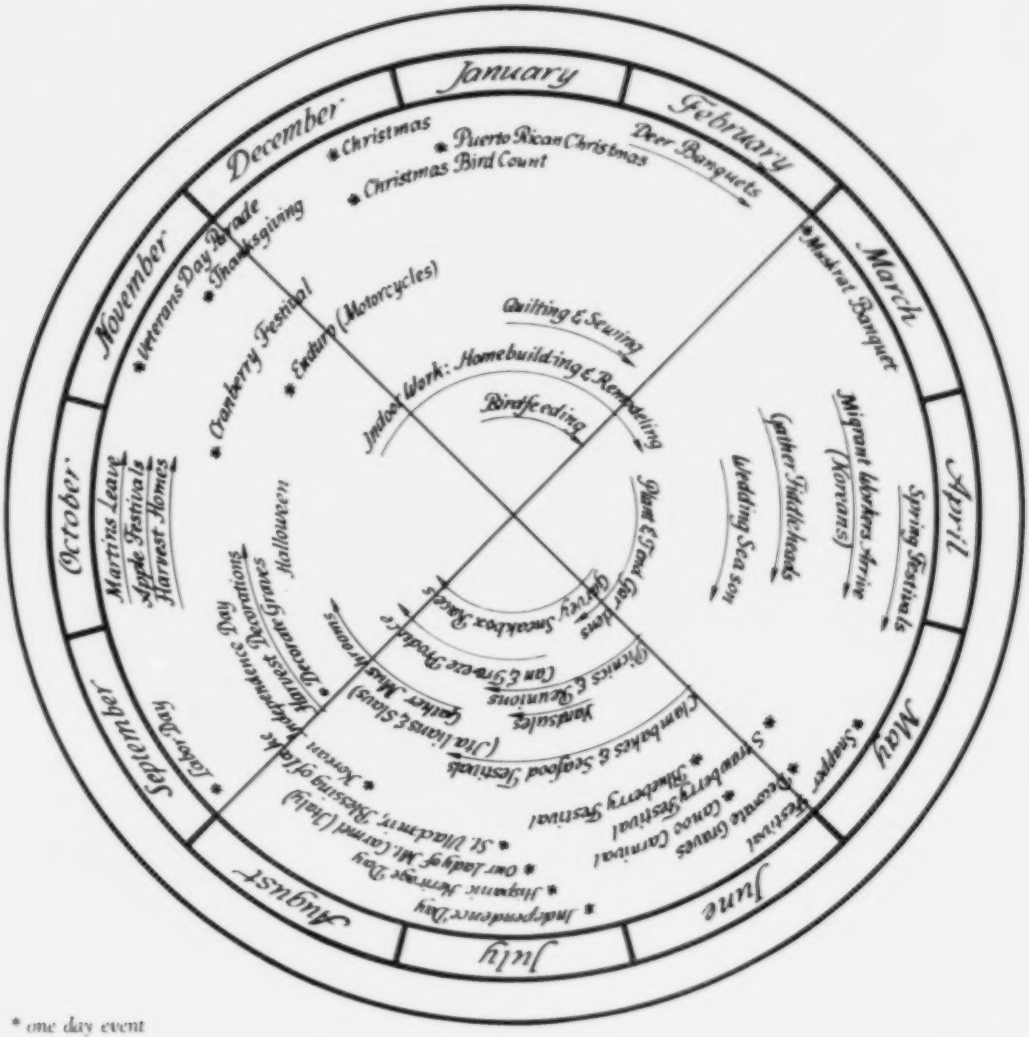
Agriculture, the ability to make a living from the soil, includes activities, places, buildings, people, skills and knowledge, land forms, support industries, and artifacts related to the cultivation of indigenous and introduced crops. Aspects to document and designate may include, among other things, all buildings, roads, ditches, and paths, methods of cultivation, technological inventions, farm markets, farmers and laborers, techniques of control burning, and expressive culture connected with working the soil for indigenous and row crops.

BAY / MARSH



Baymanship, the ability to make a living from the water, includes activities, places, buildings, people, skills and knowledge, land forms, support industries, and artifacts related to the cycles worked in the marshes and bays. Aspects to document and designate may include boat building, boatyards, boats, channel making, navigating, fishing, planting oysters, relaying clams, fish markets, mudwalloping and all associated vocabularies and stories.

COMMUNITY LIFE



* one day event

Community Resources are all those people, places, events, skills, land forms and artifacts that promote a sense of shared past, lifeways, and values among members of a group. Aspects to document and designate may include homemaking and home building, yardscaping, neighborhood names, types of settlements, cemeteries, storytelling, gathering places, sand roads, music making, festivals, customs, foodways, and associations.

Integrating Approaches to Development Review and Public Education

As we mentioned earlier, a fragmented approach to resource assessment yields biases that are unfavorable to culture. From a folklife perspective, the Commission's present guidelines for documentation, educational materials, and development review policies tend to favor:

— the past over the present;
— physical remains over other forms of cultural expression;
— nature over culture;
— scientific "knowledge about" over local "knowledge of";
— recreational and scientific values of natural resources over occupational values; and
— the core (preservation area) over the periphery (protection area).

A plan to protect traditional lifeways, natural resources, and historic and archeological remains has to proceed from an integrated view of the whole. This view of the whole should be developed through interdisciplinary research and presentation, and through active assessments of local views. In general, the interpretive and educational materials are steeped in scientific "knowledge about," and completely lacking in local "knowledge of." Both scientific and historic assessments should take local uses of the natural environment and the past into account. Collaboration with an ethnographer will fulfill this need, and will correct the biases outlined above.

We recommend that the Commission integrate the work of the Cultural Conservation Planner into its procedures as follows.

Development Review

1) The Cultural Conservation Planner will work with the appropriate Commission staff to incorporate folklife concerns in guidelines for natural and cultural resource surveys.

2) The Cultural Conservation Planner will consult the Pinelands Folklife Data Base and the Ethnobiological Compendium for information, visit the site, and confer with the appropriate municipal folklife advocates and tradition-bearers.

3) The Cultural Conservation Planner will confer with the appropriate specialists for historic and natural resources regarding the site.

4) The Cultural Conservation Planner will file a report on the site, and recommend appropriate treatment.

Public Education

1) The Cultural Conservation Planner will review curricula, slide presentations, exhibits, and other educational and public relations material produced by the Commission, offering suggestions to strengthen folklife perspectives wherever possible.

2) The Cultural Conservation Planner will perform as part of the Commission's interdisciplinary staff to develop regional themes and to produce curricula, exhibits, and other materials that portray the region holistically.

3) The Cultural Conservation Planner will write a "Local Life" column for The Pinelander.

4) The Cultural Conservation Planner will conduct workshops for teachers, rangers, curators, and others who interpret the region to visitors and to children.

Intergovernmental Coordination

Cultural conservation also conserves governmental resources. The Commission should collaborate with federal, state, and local agencies to articulate and implement protective policies toward traditional culture. Within the Department of Environmental Protection, for example, the Division of Coastal Resources that administers CAFRA could adopt parallel resolutions and procedures for communities, wetlands, and marine resources within the jurisdiction it shares with the Pinelands Commission. The National Park Service, continuing in its role as technical adviser, could explore ways to expand its interpretive purview to include folklife. Funding could be combined from sources like the National Endowment for the Arts Folk Arts Program, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Science Foundation to foster public awareness of traditional life and values in the Pinelands.

Also at the state level, the Department of Education could devise a requirement, or at least a strong incentive for courses in local culture. The State Historic Preservation Office could assist with the development of the designation process. Within its various divisions, the Department of Environmental Protection could revise some of its policies to make them consistent with cultural conservation goals. The New Jersey State Council on the Arts and the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities could provide funding for folklife programs.

At the local level, municipalities and counties should participate by placing folklife consultants on their preservation boards, and by zoning to accommodate the cultural conservation nominations that the folklife consultants make. They should also devise tax incentives to encourage traditional lifeways, and, through local school boards, encourage the use of tradition-bearers in education.

The Role of the Municipal Folklife Consultants

The formation of a regional network to recognize and promote folklife is essential. The appointment of folklife consultants to the preservation boards will be an important symbolic gesture on the part of the municipalities, signifying the local commitment to protect its traditional lifeways. They will assist the Commission at two points in its planning: through the development review procedures described above, and through formal designations.

The CCP will train this group to recognize, document, and present local folklife through a series of workshops and meetings. Because the group will be too large to meet all at once, and because people from different parts of the Reserve participate in different seasonal and economic cycles, the CCP should group the consultants according to subregions. This will also enable them to pool their resources in the designation process.

The designation process should not be limited to members of the preservation boards, but should be open to residents of the Reserve with an interest in learning more about folklife. Local historical and cultural societies and ad hoc regional groups like the Interpretation Committee or the Batsto Citizens committee may wish to be involved, as well. Similarly, in the course of development review, the consultants will serve as initial contacts. They will know, for example, who to talk to in the community regarding the cultural impact of a proposed major development.

A Folklife Designation Process

There are many ways to discover and monitor folklife resources. We suggest that each municipality devise a register of designated folklife sites, districts, buildings, skills, events, people, routes, artifacts, and other facets related to traditional lifeways that planners and educators should be aware of. The CCP should devise criteria for a folklife designation process, for mitigation policies in case of incompatible development, and for a program that will encourage tradition-bearers to continue practicing, and to pass their knowledge on to apprentices.

The CCP could train municipal folklife consultants to identify and document local folklife resources, generating a cadre of tradition-bearers to consult in the course of development review and educational programming. The CCP would then interpret the findings of the folklife consultants, and would collaborate with the appropriate Commission staff members to integrate folklife materials and concerns into other Commission programs.

In consultation with the Cultural Conservation Planner, the municipal folklife consultants will:

1) Identify traditional land-use themes and affiliated practices, places, structures, people, skills, and events.

2) Nominate districts and propose protective zoning strategies.

3) Examine every major development proposal for its impact on these themes and lifeways, using the Pinelands Folklife Data Base and the checklist appended to this report.

4) Recommend treatment. There are three possible options:

   a) avoid the site entirely;

   b) modify the design; or

   c) conduct salvage documentation.

Cultural Conservation nominations will serve two purposes. First, in the process of making them, municipalities will become aware of their folklife resources. Second, they will be able to plan for development that does not needlessly destroy resources that are important to local lifeways.

Conclusion: The Songs Are in the Fishermen, Not in the Boats

In the spring of 1985 Tom Brown told us that Bill Lee had died, and then he paid his deceased friend a great tribute. "I wish I had a third of the knowledge," said Brown, "that Bill Lee had in his head when he died." While the comment emphasizes the fleeting character of human knowledge, it also reminds us of its almost palpable aspects. Brown suggests that it is something one can acquire, possess, and distribute. It is even divisible by three. Surely then it is in our power to protect it.

We often protect knowledge by making it tangible, binding it in books with acid-free pages which are then housed in monumental buildings of marble and granite. Yet local knowledge has its own life, a life lived independently and dynamically, and which must be monitored at its source if we are to keep up with it at all.

The parallel between the collective memory and the Cohansey Aquifer breaks down in important ways. Intrusions from outside are not always the greatest threat to the collective memory. What most threatens the collective memory is disuse. The collective memory disintegrates through disuse even more quickly than do the historic sawmills that we make museums out of.

Even though certain practices fall into disuse, however, the collective memory is still viable. A certain amount of disuse, in the form of forgetting information that becomes irrelevant, is to be expected. It is even necessary to the survival of traditions, a point that Tristram Coffin makes with respect to ballads[98], and Kevin Lynch makes about landscapes:

> A landscape whose every rock tells a story may make difficult the creation of fresh stories. Although this may not seem to be a critical issue in our present urban chaos, yet it indicates that what we seek is not a final but an open-ended order, capable of continuous further development. [99]

Like the aquifer then, the collective memory must filter itself. People may have stopped making sails and singing shanties, but they still know how to move a garvey through a particular bay, whether the garvey is constructed of fiberglass or wood. They know how to harmonize within a given musical tradition, whether accompanied by electric or acoustic instruments. The losses of particular aspects of tradition may sadden us in retrospect, but we must not forget that fishermen, boat builders, and musicians are still with us, and that, in the words of Robert Ames, a menhaden fisherman and shanty singer from Port Norris, "The songs are in the fishermen, not in the boats."[100]

NOTES

[1] Ormond Loomis, *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, 1983), Publications of the American Folklife Center, number 10.

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[3] Ibid., p. 8.

[4] Timothy Cochrane, "The Folklife Expressions of Three Isle Royale Fishermen: A Sense of Place Examination" (M.A. Thesis, Western Kentucky University, 1982) p. 15.

[5] Edmunds V. Bunkse, "Commoner Attitudes Toward Landscape and Nature," in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 68:551-566 (1978), p. 561.

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[7] Donald L. Hardesty, *Ecological Anthropology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. 299.

[8] Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 54.

[9] The phrase and its meanings derive from Yi Fu Tuan's seminal work on the subject, *Space and Place*, ibid.

[10] Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), p. 43.

[11] Paul Shepard, *Man in the Landscape: A Historic View of the Esthetics of Nature* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) p. 28.

[12] Relph, p. 143.

[13] Cochrane, p. 156.

[14] Clifford Geertz discusses the history and implications of this notion of the expressive form as a cultural text in "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101:1-38 (1972).

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[19] Jeffrey A. McNeely and David Pitt, eds., *Culture and Conservation: The Human Dimension in Environmental Planning* (Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 7.

[20] Nora Rubinstein, "A Psycho-Social Impact Analysis of Environmental Change in the New Jersey Pine Barrens" (Ph.D. Diss. City Univ. of N. Y. 1983), p. 191.

[21] Yi Fu Tuan, *Topophilia* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 63, 65.

[22] Barre Toelken, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979) p. 51. See also Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1966), referred to here as cited in Toelken.

[23] Elizabeth Marsh, "The Southern Pine Barrens: An Ethnic Archipelago," in John Sinton, ed., *Natural and Cultural Resources of the New Jersey Pine Barrens: Inputs and Research Needs for Planning* (Pomona, N.J.: Stockton State College, 1979), pp. 192- 198.

[24] Jonathon Berger and John Walter Sinton, *Water, Earth, and Fire: Land-Use and Environmental Planning in the New Jersey Pine Barrens* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. 1985). Thanks to Sue Samuelson for the term "urbophobes."

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[29] Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (Glendale, Calif.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954-1960).

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[83] Berger and Sinton, p. 61.

[84] Scientists are divided on this issue. See Howard J. Stains, "Distribution and Taxonomy of the Canidae," in Michael Fox, ed.,*The Wild Canids* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1975) pp. 3-26.

[85] [N.J.] Division of Fish, Game and Wildlife, "A Brief History of Trapping" in *Trapping Furbearers: Student Manual* (Trenton, N.J.: Division of Fish, Game and Wildlife), pp. 2-3.

[86] John Frye, *The Men All Singing: The Story of Menhaden Fishing* (Norfolk, Va.: Donning, 1978), pp. 14-15.

[87] Cochrane, p. 136.

[88] John R. Spodofora, "Old Rube," *The Beachcomber* April 6, 1978.

[89] David Ridgway to humanities class during Folk-Artists-in- Schools Program conducted at Central Regional H. S., Bayville, N. J. May 1979. Sponsored by the New Jersey State Council on the Arts.

[90] Mead, p. 310.

[91] See Berger and Sinton for further discussion of the significance of the collective memory for environmental planners.

[92] Daniel Webb likens this method of inquiry in the social sciences to the geological assessment of "outcroppings," points where substrata emerge at the surface. *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 27-29.

[93] Barre Toelken, "In the Stream of Life: An Essay on Oregon Folk Art," in Suzi Jones, ed., *Webfoots and Bunchgrassers: Folk Art of the Oregon Country* (Eugene, Ore.: Oregon Arts Commission, 1980), p. 10.

[94] Richard Davis, Bernie Perez, Joe Paulino, and Scott Russell, "Traditional Attributes Conservation: A Substitute for Preservation Tax Incentive for the Pacific Territories." Proposal submitted by the Historic Preservation Office, Pacific Territories to the Interagency Resources Division of the Department of the Interior, August 1984.

[95] "An Act" (providing for the cultural resource management of the cultural heritage of Pennsylvania, its communities and their historic and ethnic heritage tangible and intangible) proposed by Thomas E. Jones, Preservation Planner, City of Easton, Pa. Draft, Nov. 13, 1985.

[96] *Comprehensive Management Plan*, p. 194.

[97] Ibid., p. 271.

[98] Tristram P. Coffin, "Mary Hamilton and the Anglo- American Ballad as an Art Form," in MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin, eds. *The Critics and the Ballad* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 245 - 257.

[99] Lynch, p. 6.

[100] Interview, Mary Hufford and Rita Moonsammy with Robert Ames, Port Norris, February 19, 1983.

APPENDIX I

The Pinelands Folklife Survey

The Legislative Backdrop

The Pinelands Folklife Project addressed a variety of goals shared by the American Folklife Center, the Pinelands Commission, and the National Park Service. Over the years, and by different legislative and administrative routes, the agencies had arrived at the same juncture. In 1976 Congress passed the American Folklife Preservation Act (P.L. 94-201), creating the American Folklife Center to "preserve and present American folklife." American folklife, according to that law, means:

> the traditional expressive culture shared within the various groups in the United States: familial, ethnic, occupational, religious, and regional. Expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms such as custom, belief, technical skills, language, literature, art, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual, pageantry, and handicraft. Generally these expressions are learned orally, by imitation, or in performance, and are maintained or perpetuated without formal instruction or institutional direction.

In 1978 Congress created the country's first National Reserve in the Pinelands of New Jersey (P.L. 95-625). The law established the Pinelands Commission and directed its fifteen members to assess the region's resources, including the "scenic, aesthetic, cultural, open space, and outdoor recreation resources, together with a determination of overall policies required to maintain and enhance these resources."

The law also charges the Commission to

> recognize existing economic activities within the area and provide for the protection and enhancement of such activities as farming, forestry, proprietary recreational facilities, and those indigenous industries and commercial and residential developments.

Both laws reflect a growing public awareness that local culture is an important aspect of the environment, worthy of recognition and protection. Because folklife resources seldom possess the tangible form that historic and archeological resources have, the task of protection is more complex. In fact, no federally-approved guidelines yet exist for evaluating living cultural resources for the sake of land-use management.

Recognizing a need to move in this direction, Congress asked in the National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1980 (P.L. 96-515) that the Center, with the Department of the Interior, prepare a special report to the President and the Congress. The report is entitled *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States*.[1] Through the Pinelands Folklife Project the Center sought to test some of the concepts and recommendations made in this report.

Underlying all the legislation is a resolve on the part of the agencies involved to coordinate their activities with other relevant agencies wherever possible, in order to conserve governmental as well as cultural resources. Agencies that cooperated in the Pinelands Folklife Project include the American Folklife Center, the Pinelands Commission, the National Park Service, the New Jersey State Council on the Arts, the New Jersey Historical Commission, the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, and the New Jersey Department of Human Resources.

The Pinelands Commission enumerated many of the Reserve's natural and cultural resources in the *Comprehensive Management Plan*, [2] published in 1980. Natural resources include 580 indigenous plant species 72 of which are threatened or endangered; 299 species of birds; 59 reptile and amphibian species; 91 varieties of fish; 35 species of mammals; and 10,000 kinds of insects. Cultural resources include 1,046 prehistoric sites and 500 historic-period sites. The Plan organizes contemporary cultural resources into ten ethnic, religious, and occupational groups, including baymen, Blacks, Germans, Italians, Jews, mixed- urbanizing, Puerto Ricans, Quakers, rural residents, and Russians.

Contemporary cultural resources (as well as historic and prehistoric) are also implicitly recognized and treated in a number of places. Thus a scenic preferences survey recognizes the need to consider local aesthetic sensibilities, and agriculture, hunting, maritime and logging activities are treated both as historic study units and as activities affected by land-use policies. Contemporary cultural resources also are emphasized in the second paragraph of the plan, which explains that "the major thrust of the planning effort has been directed toward developing ways to safeguard the Pinelands' resources while the land remains in the care of its traditional guardians, the people who live there."[3]

Documentation of what we came to call "traditional guardianship" is an ethnographic task that is both enormous and necessary, requiring that the Commission continuously "update the inventory," as the plan recommends for historic and natural resources. For contemporary cultural resources this translates into an ongoing program of documentation. Like natural and archeological resources, folklife resources are perhaps most threatened by their invisibility, which is why it takes trained specialists to identify them. Unlike natural and archeological resources, they are difficult to count. To begin the task of documenting, the Plan anticipated a cooperative venture with the American Folklife Center.[4]

During the first week of the project a gas station attendant in May's Landing voiced a profound skepticism when he asked fieldworker Jens Lund, "Do you really think there's any *culture* around here?" His question, of course, betrays the commonly held notion that culture is the way of life of the elite in our society. Over and against this notion are the many expressions of pride in community and place that the fieldworkers encountered among the people of the region, people who graciously guided them through a cultural wilderness that is in many ways far more opaque than the natural one.

Goals and Themes

The Pinelands Folklife Project established three goals in its work plan:

1) To identify and document the various strains of traditional culture existing within and around the Pinelands National Reserve;

2) To facilitate land-use planning in the Pinelands and along the coast; and

3) To develop products which assist in public education about the relationship between the region and its cultural resources.

Two broad thematic areas framed the Center's inquiry into the folklife of the Pinelands National Reserve: 1) The interplay of cultural and natural resources; and 2 The social construction and celebration of place

We assumed that the first area could provide further information on natural resources and their cultural transformations, but from the perspectives of those who are native users as well as scientific observers. This kind of information, we thought, would prove useful in the actual physical management of the Pinelands, providing data that would enhance policies governing conservation and development. We hoped that the second area of inquiry would yield information helpful to educators, including the National Park Service, the State Parks and Recreation departments, and other agencies and educational facilities throughout the region.

The Field Team

There is a history of ethnographic team research in both anthropology and folklore.[5] The team approach offers many advantages. Since more territory can be covered, the research can be conducted for both breadth and depth of coverage. A team of researchers with varied ethnographic backgrounds and training can produce a holistic picture, while checking some of the biases that individual researchers inevitably bring to their work. Since the team members were all ethnographers, the Pineland Folklife Project avoided some of the communication problems that can develop on interdisciplinary teams comprising fieldworkers from far-flung disciplines.[6]

There were differences of opinion, however, that worked as creative tensions, and the project's goals were reexamined continually against the emerging data. Team members debated, for example, the question of whether we should serve as advocates for selected groups within the region, or whether we could or should remain "clinically" objective.

When hiring researchers for this project, we deliberately formed a team whose members represented a variety of orientations in social science. We sought fieldworkers whose familiarity with diverse cultural groups would enable them to identify patterns of cultural expression and to make comparative observations. We assumed that the research effort flourishes when researchers of different backgrounds share leads and insights. We believed that a team documentation effort yields a richer harvest than a series of individual investigations. "Light from more than one source yields a truer image," wrote Elaine Thatcher in her final report. Also,as Eugene Hunn put it, "team fieldwork is synergistic."

The team comprised four categories of worker: 1) Folklife Center coordinators, 2) Full-time fieldworkers, 3) consultants, and 4) project associates. Mary Hufford and Carl Fleischhauer worked together as project co-planners for the American Folklife Center. Jay Orr worked as the project's archival consultant and data-base manager through the end of the project's survey phase.

The core team included one administrative coordinator and three full-time fieldworkers, all of whom are professional folklorists. Sue Samuelson (Ph.D., folklore, University of Pennsylvania) served as the administrative coordinator in addition to conducting fieldwork. Full-time fieldworkers

included Jens Lund (Ph.D., folklore, Indiana University); Elaine Thatcher (M.A., folklore, Utah State); and Christine Cartwright (Ph.D., folklore, Memorial University, Newfoundland). Doctoral candidates from the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Folklore and Folklife, hired on a part-time basis as project associates, were Bonnie Blair, Tom Carroll, and Malachi O'Connor.

The core team also included the project photographer, Joseph Czarnecki. His role was to combine his impressions with those of the team members to produce a compelling visual portrait of the region's folklife. Dennis McDonald, a local photographer for the *Burlington County Times*, also carried out a number of assignments during the project's post-survey fieldwork.

Three other folklorists were briefly lent to the project by government agencies: David Cohen of the New Jersey Historical Commission; Rita Moonsammy of the New Jersey State Council on the Arts; and Gerald Parsons of the American Folklife Center's Archive of Folk Culture.

Descriptions of the duties and qualifications of the team members are available from the project files at the Archive of Folk Culture.

Cross-cutting the administrative divisions, the project team comprised a mixture of backgrounds and interests, including folklife studies, anthropology, ethnobiology, environmental psychology, and archiving. Each fieldworker had a solid general background in folklore theory, and had obtained field experience with at least two cultural groups other than their own, as well as with a variety of expressive forms, including material culture and ritual and verbal behavior. Lund and Thatcher also brought backgrounds in public-sector folklore work.

We selected our fieldworkers from different regions of the country and from different schools of training. As outsiders to the region, they were in a position to notice phenomena that people from from the region might not see. Elaine Thatcher, from Utah noticed the prevalence of coleslaw as a side dish, the custom of placing grave blankets on cemetery plots at Christmas, and the proliferation of yard figurines. Eugene Hunn, from Washington State, was surprised by anti-Black sentiments, expressed "by otherwise beautiful people" who at the same time held glowingly romantic attitudes toward Native Americans. In the West, he observed, the Native Americans are more often the victims of racism.

In addition to being generalists, each fieldworker contributed a pertinent specialty: Jens Lund had done maritime research in the Ohio River Valley and in Staten Island; Elaine Thatcher had studied material and ethnic culture in Utah and Colorado and had a particular interest in women's work and in yardscapes and their role in affecting "character of place"; Christine Cartwright had studied traditional belief systems (medical, religious, and political), yardscapes in Newfoundland, and the interrelations of people, plants, and animals.

Sue Samuelson brought a strong interest in foodways and celebrations to the project. Eugene Hunn, an ethnobiologist and anthropologist, had studied native systems of plant and animal classification in Central America, Australia, and among Native Americans in the Northwest. Bonnie Blair's interests included folk medical systems, folklife and natural resources, and Hispanic cultures. She is fluent in Spanish. Mal O'Connor had been researching the development of traditional tools and technologies.

The team also included cultural specialists with previous fieldwork experience in the area. Nora Rubinstein, an environmental psychologist who had completed her dissertation there that year,

addressed the project's concern with sense of place and cognitive mapping. Tom Carroll had worked with decoy carvers in the Barnegat Bay region for several years. Rita Moonsammy had produced two Folk-Artists-in-Education programs in Cumberland County. Mary Hufford, the project director, had done fieldwork in the region during the years 1978 – 1980. All four researchers were able to supply the other fieldworkers with initial leads.

The vacant superintendent's cottage at Lebanon State Forest served as the project's headquarters, courtesy of the Department of Environmental Protection. The Department of Human Resources furnished lodging for the team and project visitors at the New Lisbon State School across from the Lebanon State Forest, on Route 72.

Conducting Team Research: Dividing Up the Work

Each member of the team was responsible for documenting a cultural group, a geographic subdivision, or a genre (that is, a form of cultural expression). For the first month of the survey, the full-time fieldworkers concentrated on their assigned geographic areas. Sue Samuelson and Mary Hufford covered the northern area, which stretches from the farming communities of Southampton Township to Lacey Township on the shore. Christine Cartwright surveyed the cranberry watershed and the farmlands and suburbs in Medford and Evesham Township. Elaine Thatcher canvassed the farming and ethnic communities south of the Mullica River. Jens Lund covered the waterfronts,devoting much of his time to the Delaware Bay communities.

Each full-time fieldworker also concentrated on a genre or theme. Sue Samuelson concentrated on food and food events (including festivals, banquets, church services, restaurants, and family dinners) throughout the region. Christine Cartwright developed her focus around two areas: agriculture and recreation. Elaine Thatcher paid special attention to womens' work and to yardscapes. Jens Lund handled wetlands technologies, building on Rita Moonsammy's previous research in Cumberland County.

Each part-time fieldworker and consultant focused on a particular genre, group, theme, or natural species transformation. Rita Moonsammy focused on the Russian community in Cassville, while Bonnie Blair surveyed Hispanic communities in the region. Nora Rubinstein produced a set of cognitive maps, documenting the way in which people organize the past with reference to landmarks of the sort that do not generally receive formal designation. David Cohen examined the role of local historians in cultivating beliefs about "pineys" and their origins.

Atlantic white cedar became an organizing principle for Tom Carroll in his work with boatbuilders and decoy carvers. Mal O'Connor investigated the family business as a way in which the region has traditionally organized its cultural and natural resources. Eugene Hunn developed a preliminary record of local names, classifications, and uses for plants and animals. Gerald Parsons generated and documented a regional exchange program, in which railbird hunters from the Maurice River in New Jersey and the Patuxent River in Maryland visited each other. Thus he documented railbird hunting while generating comparative data on the railbird culture of two wetlands areas.

Although the labor was broadly divided along these lines, researchers often worked together in teams of two or three, dividing up the chores of photography, sound recording, interviewing, and observation, particularly when attending complex public events like the VFW Pig Roast, a fox

chase, a Halloween party, a fire company breakfast, the christening of the *Robert C. Morgan*, the Medford Apple Festival, or the Tabernacle Auction."

Entering the Communities[8]

Most communities have appropriate channels whereby fieldworkers can discover valuable collaborators—members of the communities who will work with fieldworkers to teach them what they need to know. Some of these channels might be considered "public approaches." Earlier in the project we were given leads by scholars who were already studying the region— people like John Sinton, a human ecologist in the Environmental Science department at Stockton State College; Elizabeth Woodford, a Medford botanist and Piney culture enthusiast; Mary-Ann Thompson, a Vincentown cranberry grower, environmental lawyer, and local historian; and Richard Regensberg, a Pinelands archeologist. We also interviewed public representatives like township officials, church ministers, and leaders of voluntary associations who had comprehensive overviews of their communities.

There are semi-public approaches to finding key collaborators that begin with activities and events that are publically visible and follow people into more private domains.Public celebrations and events, for example, provided first-hand contacts with members of the community who became valuable guides to local life. Sue Samuelson and Elaine Thatcher met George and Helen Zimmer, for example, at the Apple Festival at St. John's United Church of Christ in Egg Harbor.

Another strategy in this semi-public vein resembles the windshield survey employed by architectural historians. We investigated things that caught our attention as we drove through an area: a farmer harvesting yams, a clammer working in the bay, a cranberry harvest, or a farm market. Usually people in such circumstances were quite receptive to our questions, inviting us to return for follow-up interviews. Samuelson and Thatcher first encountered the Putiri family in Hammonton while investigating farm markets on the White Horse Pike. Ralph and Sal Putiri were sympathetic to the project and willingly directed them to others in the community, including Italian farmers and cooks, and the Black Jewish congregation at Elwood.

As ethnographers we were students of those who showed us the parts of their lives they wanted us to see. They were our collaborators in compiling a set of images of regional life. As limited as our sampling was, it is the largest such sampling that has been taken in the region. The implication is that cultural surveying should be an ongoing part of the planning process.

In gathering information we employed two primary field techniques: informal interviews and participant observation. Many of the interviews were held in peoples' homes. They were events in themselves, and in them people generally are reporting on their lives in the region. We generally began with such interviews, attempting to gather supporting contextual data with follow-up visits to observe some of the activities they reported on. In such cases the fieldworker was an integral part of the event.

A strategy employed by most fieldworkers, given the project's emphasis on sense of place and natural resources, was the guided tour through a community or habitat, accompanied by a tape-recorded interview. Postmaster James Doyle guided Sue Samuelson around New Lisbon. Clifford Frazee took Mal O'Connor on a tour of his cedar swamp and tree farm. Jens Lund toured Delaware Bay on *The Cashier*. Joseph Czarnecki obtained a regional overview from the air. Steve Soviczki

took Nora Rubinstein and Elaine Thatcher on a historical/memory tour of important places around Atco. Fieldworkers also filled out topographic maps with names and information about significant places mentioned by their collaborators. Nora Rubinstein developed this strategy further by getting people to draw their own maps.

Our degree of participation in the events we observed varied. When we documented harvesting activities we attended as students, attempting to learn the perspectives of woodsmen, farmers, and baymen. When we documented some celebrations we participated to some extent as other outsiders might. We purchased and consumed food, for example, while simultaneously taking notes on the event. However, when Sue Samuelson and Elaine Thatcher ate dinner with the Putiris, when Gene Hunn documented the Christmas bird count as one of the counters, and when Gerald Parsons gunned with the railbird hunters he was interviewing on the Maurice River marshes, they were fully participating as well as observing. They brought an insider's awareness to their fieldwork.

Achieving a Survey

Our survey of folklife expressions related to natural resources was nested inside a broader survey to assess the full range of cultural groups and their expressions. A survey should not be confused with an inventory. Webster reminds us that to survey means "to look at or consider in a general or comprehensive way." Our survey's parameters touched a number of domains. We strove to be geographically comprehensive, spot-checking the entire region both by driving through it and by speaking with those who have broad overviews, such as town planners, mayors, zoning officers, and postmen, to learn the local boundaries for cultural and natural phenomena. We documented examples of practices linked with varied cultural groups and natural habitats.

We sought to balance ethnic, regional, and genre-related approaches. While the Puerto Ricans were the only ethnic group to be comprehensively surveyed, we documented practices from Italian, German, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Quaker, and Afro- American communities. We also documented practices linked with habitat types, including upland forests, farms, swamps, meadows, bays, and lake communities. In addition, we sampled a broad range of expressive behaviors, attending to story-telling, music, naming practices, and life-cycle customs as well as to traditional land and resource use.

The period of the initial survey comprised roughly fifty working days, translating into four hundred "people days." During the course of the project researchers interviewed approximately four hundred people, visiting every one of the fifty-two municipalities within the Reserve, and occasionally straying outside its boundaries. To develop areas for further study fieldworkers began to spend more time with approximately fifty people, who thus served as key collaborators. Within their communities they were recognized as masters of such traditional practices as food preparation, farming, logging, hunting, trapping, fox hunting, boat building, or fishing.

The Project Archive

We developed the archive in the field, recording our observations and images in field notes, sound recordings, still photographs, maps, and drawings. Fieldworkers generally agreed that the availability of word processing equipment in the field office kept them up to date with their fieldnotes, and the output of fieldnotes was also extensive and detailed due to the ease this advanced technology

afforded. We emphasized high-quality media documentation, outfitting the fieldworkers with Nagra open-reel tape recorders as well as cassette machines. Joseph Czarnecki, the project photographer,coached the team members in photographic technique, and fieldworkers were encouraged to document everything in both black-and-white and color. Fieldworkers used word processing to index all tapes, slides, and contact sheets.

The archive includes approximately 1,700 pages of field notes, 300 hours of sound recordings, and 15,000 still photographic images, in addition to maps, drawings, botanical specimens, and fieldworkers' final reports. All written records are stored in a computer at the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress. A reference archive will be housed in the New Jersey Room at the New Jersey State Library in Trenton.

Other aspects of the project's design and implementation are addressed in reports by project participants and co-planners. Sue Samuelson's report addresses the details of day-to-day project administration, Carl Fleischhauer's "Notes on Media Documentation" outlines the technical aspects of documentation more fully, and the interim report on the project archive prepared by Sue Samuelson and Elaine Thatcher describes the project holdings. Ann Dancy, the project's post-fieldwork assistant, has prepared an inventory to the holdings which describes the automated data base. All of these reports are available on request at the American Folklife Center, the New Jersey State Library, and the Pinelands Commission.

Members of the field team working at the project headquarters in Lebanon State Forest (clockwise): Christine Carturight, Mary Hufford, Elaine Thatcher, Sue Samuelson, Jens Lund. (Photograph by Carl Fleischhauer. 83BCF215421-10-08.)

NOTES: APPENDIX I

[1] Ormond Loomis, *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, 1983) Publications of the American Folklife Center, number 10.

[2] New Jersey Pinelands Commission, *Comprehensive Management Plan for the Pinelands National Reserve (National Parks and Recreation Act, 1978) and Pinelands Area (New Jersey Pinelands Protection Act, 1979)* (New Lisbon, N. J.: Pinelands Commission, 1980).

[3] Ibid., p. xvii.

[4] Ibid,, p. 237.

[5] For a brief survey of some anthropological team field projects, see John A. Price, "Holism Through Team Ethnography," *Human Relations* 26:155-170 (1973). Richard Dorson directed his folklore students from Indiana Univ. in a well-known team project in Gary, Ind. He analyzes the experience of "the Gary Gang," in "Team Fieldwork," *Folklore Forum* 11:3 (1978). The American Folklife Center has conducted team fieldwork projects in Chicago (1977), South-Central Georgia (1977), Nevada (1978-1982), the Blue Ridge Parkway (1978), Montana (1979), Rhode Island (1979), and an Ethnic Heritage and Language Schools project in twenty-two cities (1982). Carl Fleischhauer and Charles K. Wolfe discuss the dynamics of the team research effort in some detail in *The Process of Field Research: Final Report on the Blue Ridge Parkway Folklife Project* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, 1981). While a thorough consideration of the team research aspects of the Pinelands Folklife Project is a topic for another report, Sue Samuelson's administrative report in the archive affords a good overview.

[6] Since the Commission had already conducted the scientific studies, our work simply was augmenting theirs. Simultaneous interdisciplinary research is most desirable. See Pertti J. Pelto and Gretel H. Pelto, *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 226-227.

[7] Ibid., pp. 223-224.

[8] For a very practical introduction to principles and methods of fieldwork, see Michael H. Agar, *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography* (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1980).

APPENDIX II

Checklist for Development Review for Municipal Planning Boards

We suggest that the municipal folklife consultants, working closely with the Commission's Cultural Conservation Planner, explore their communities for potential cultural conservation districts. The questions posed below are intended to help establish a framework for discovery. Municipal folklife consultants could also bring the questions to bear on sites that are slated for major development. Answers to such questions should be considered in the course of the Pinelands Commission's development review process. By expanding on the questions asked in this checklist the folklife consultants could work together with the Cultural Conservation Planner to develop a valuable field guide to Pinelands Folklife.

The Pinelands Folklife Data Base

What information did the Pinelands Folklife Project turn up about our municipality?

Do any of the practices documented elsewhere by the Pinelands Folklife Project occur in our municipality, or relate to it in any way?

What contacts were established, or leads given, that we could begin to follow up on?

The Development Review Process

What places in our municipality are currently slated for development?

What sorts of local life and values are connected with these places?

For each proposed area for development, ask the following questions.

Place(s)

What are the local names for the area in question?

How did it get those names?

What happens there now?

What happened in the past?

What kind of a place is it?

Who uses it now?

For what?

Access

How do people get to these places?

Are all sand roads mapped?

What are the names of the roads?

Who made the channels and roads in the woods and wetlands?

Who continues to make and maintain them?

How would any development affect sand roads and trails?

What are the traditional practices linked with this type of habitat?

Do any of them occur here?

Who are the practitioners? Where do they live?

What do they call themselves? (woodsmen, hunters, foxhunters, growers, woodjins, pineballers, sportsmen, timbermen, proggers, mudwallopers, bayshacks, bogtrotters, herpers, birders, baymen, oystermen)?

What are they called by others (snakehunters, stumpjumpers, Pineys)?

What do they call their work (birding, herping, logging)?

How long have they been practicing?

How did they learn?

What are the steps in the learning process?

What marks a skilled practitioner?

Who is locally acknowledged for their skill?

Is there a community of practitioners or is the practitioner the only known tradition-bearer with this particular skill?

Is it a family business?

How many generations are currently involved, and what are the divisions of labor by age and by gender?

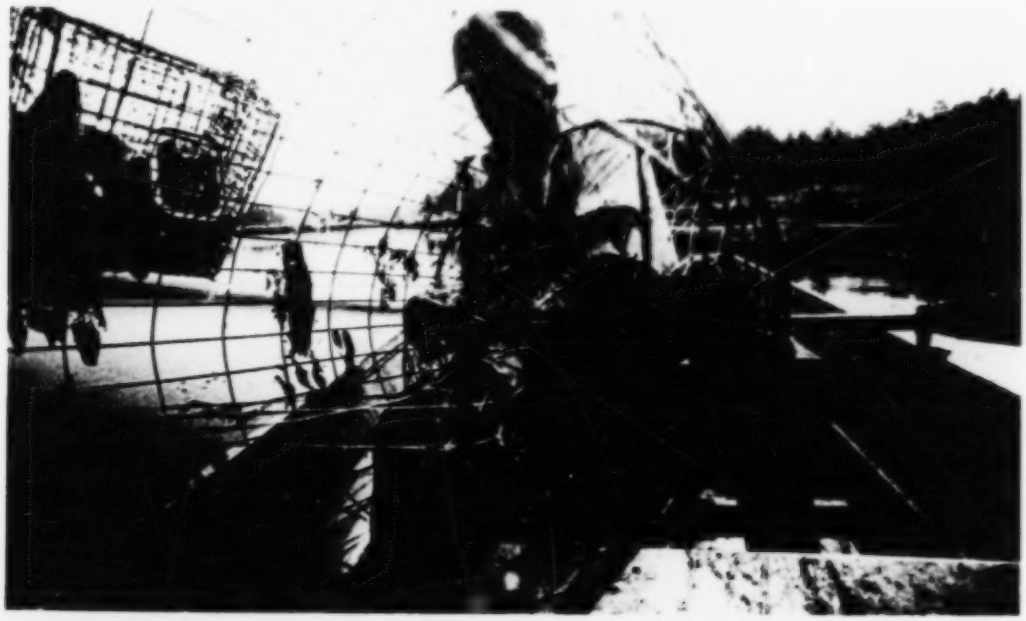
What associations do the practitioners belong to?

What related magazines or journals do they subscribe to?

Where do they meet, formally or informally, to exchange information?

What do they do for recreation? (Or if the practice is recreational, what do they do for work?)

How do their work and play interrelate?



Herbert Misner removes a turtle from his snapper fyke. (Photograph by Dennis McDonald. 85BDM235200-11-28.)

Conceptual Organization of the Resources

Is the activity recreational or occupational?

What is the yearly cycle connected with the activity?

What other resources do the practitioners work (play) with, and in what other habitats?

What are their names for the habitats?

How do they divide and name the terrain and vegetation?

What are their names for the resources they harvest, and for the parts of those resources?

How do they conceptualize other parts of the environment?

What kinds of "bottom" do they work on? How do they read it?

What are their names for the plants and animals (include insects, birds, mammals, reptiles, and fish) they see while working/playing?

What are their names for the kinds of wind (baffling, nor'easter) and sand (buckshot, sugar) around them? Different kinds of tide (blowout, lazy, pogee, perigee, spring)?

What problems or dangers does their environment present to them and how do they solve them (fires, mosquitoes, getting lost, beavers, swans)?

What are their names for kinds of fire?

What smells and sounds do they associate with specific habitats and animals?

Tools and Technology

What kinds of tools do they use?

What are their names for the tools and the parts of the tools?

Have they invented any tools (the various cranberry pickers)?

Inherited or modified any old tools?

Who makes and repairs the tools?

How do they manage and process the plant resources they use (control burning, cultivation, harvesting, sorting, curing, packing)?

How do they find, manage and process the animal resources (tracking, smelling, making sets)?

How is the labor divided along each step of the process?

What other accessories are essential (vehicles, binoculars, hound dogs)?

Is music or singing a part of the process (menhaden shanties, oyster shuckers' hymns)?

Do they display old tools or accessories in or around their homes (as magazine racks, mail-boxes, coffee tables, planters)?

The Built Environment

What are the affiliated structures like?

How are water and earth manipulated to facilitate the practice (cranberry bogs, salt hay farms, channels in the bay, irrigation of farms and gardens)?

Are the cabins for male clubs or for families or for both?

Where do or did the participants congregate for meals or to talk (Luigi's Pizza, the Evergreen Dairy Bar, Johnny Broome's)?

Where are the structures for processing the resources in relation to the practitioner's home and work environment?

Where are the structures for marketing the resources?

Observe interactions, storytelling, etc. and make floor plans.

How do they interpret ruins connected with their practice?

Using the Resources

What are the uses, within living memory, for the products (salt hay rope, charcoal, pulp wood, boat lumber)?

If edible, collect the processing information and recipes. How and when are they marketed?

What are the interrelationships among the producers, middle- men, and users?

How localized are the chains?

How are "waste" or byproducts recycled?

Celebrative and Interpretive Aspects

What are all the place names affiliated with the practice (Petticoat Hill for pineballers, Laurel City for cedar harvesters, Hidden Lakes for all-terrain vehicle users, Dead Ostrich Bog for state foresters)?

Map them.

What are the major annual events (fur auctions, Christmas bird count, grave blanket season)?

Are there any contests or competitions connected with the work (skinning contests, length of life lists, fox races)?

What celebrative genres does the practitioner perform or consume (paintings, songs, poems, carvings, sayings)?

Are the skills featured at local festivities like fire hall suppers, church suppers, crafts fairs, food festivals, etc.?

How are they connected to life-cycle customs and intergenerational relationships (cranberry growers buried with cranberry sprig in hand, use of sweet everlasting as the funeral flower, grandparents carving miniature regional emblems for grandchildren)?

What reenactments and dramatic presentations are associated with the activities (gun club skits)?

Are there any scrap books connected with the practice, either communal or individual?

How have the practitioners documented their practice (home movies, photographs, tapes, artifact collections)?

How have local newspapers documented it?

How have the practitioners displayed their practice in decorating their homes and yards?

Interior of Tom Brown's trapper's cabin, displaying the tools and memorabilia of his way of life. The Last Supper *is mounted behind deer antlers above the snapping turtle shell which was painted with a marsh scene by June Taylor of Dividing Creek. (Photograph by Joseph Czarnecki. BJC2177 21-10-07.)*

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APPENDIX III

Summary of Expenditures and In-Kind Contributions
Overview

Phase	In-Kind	Cash	Total
I: **Pre-fieldwork**			
(May – August 1983)	3,800	2,000	5,800
II: **Field Survey and Follow-Up**			
(August 1983 – March 1984)	37,554	73,799	111,353
III: **Product Development**			
April 1984 – September 1986)	124,091	119,490	243,581
Totals:	165,445	195,289	360,734
American Folklife Center expenditures:	47,960	87,289	135,249
Contributing agencies:	117,485	108,000	225,485
GRAND TOTAL:		$360,734	

Breakdown of Budget by Phases
Introduction

This budget summarizes the expenses incurred by the Pinelands Folklife Project over the course of four fiscal years from May 1983 September 1986. For a detailed account of expenditures during the first two years of the project, consult the "Summary of Expenditures and In-Kind Contributions" for Phases I and II, prepared by Sue Samuelson and Carl Fleischhauer in March 1984.

To summarize the phases of the project briefly, Phase I consisted of fieldwork design and selection of the project personnel. During Phase II the Center conducted the initial field survey and established the Pinelands Folklife Project Archive. During Phase III (from March 1984 to September 1986) the Center and various cooperating agencies produced the project's various products. This necessitated additional contracting of fieldworkers, photographers, and archival consultants. The reference archive will be completed by 1978. The products are listed separately following the budget statement for Phase III. These additional costs have been added on to the budget prepared by Carl Fleischhauer and Sue Samuelson in 1984 to produce a comprehensive summary of the total costs incurred by the Pinelands Folklife Project to date.

This summary employs the following abbreviations:

AFC: American Folklife Center (Library of Congress)
ASO: Automated Systems Office (Library of Congress)
DEP: Department of Environmental Protection (New Jersey)
DHR: Department of Human Resources (New Jersey)
LCPO: Publishing Office (Library of Congress)
NJHC: New Jersey Historical Commission
NJSCA: New Jersey State Council on the Arts
NJSM: New Jersey State Museum
NEH: National Endowment for the Humanities

Phase I: Pre-fieldwork Preparation (15 weeks: May 9, 1983–August 14, 1983)

	In-kind	Cash
1. Personnel		
Director (5 full-time weeks at $640/week)	$3,200 AFC	
Typist (0.5 weeks at $450/week)	$ 250 AFC	
2. Computer Systems Development		
Systems development (contract worker)		$2,000
3. Equipment and Supplies		
Telephone (5 weeks at $50/week)	250 AFC	
Office supplies	50 AFC	
Duplication	50 AFC	
Subtotals:	$3,800 AFC	$2,000
Total for Phase I:	**$5,800**	

Phase II: Field Survey and Follow-up (31 weeks: August 15, 1983 – March 31, 1984)

A. Final preparation for fieldwork (4 weeks: August 15, 1983 – September 11, 1983)

1. Personnel Director (3 weeks at $640/week)	$1,920.00 AFC	
Administrative coordinator (4 weeks at $450/week)		$1,800.00
Computer consulting		
Contract worker		3,500.00
ASO assistance (1 week at $640/week)	640.00 ASO	
Project co-planner (2 weeks at $640 week)	1,280.00 AFC	
2. Travel		
Administrative coordinator to DC		149.00
Staff travel to New Jersey	299.64 AFC	
Subtotals:	$4,139.64	$5,449.00
Total for Phase IIA:	**$9,588.64**	

B. Fieldwork and short-term follow-up (13 weeks: September 12,1983 – December 18, 1983)

1. Personnel Director (10 weeks at 640/week)	$6,400.00 AFC	
Administrative coordinator (13 weeks at $450/week)		$5,580.00
Part-time secretary (total)		100.00
Full-time fieldworkers		
Christine Cartwright		4,036.75
Jens Lund		4,386.53
Elaine Thatcher		4,604.64
Consultants		
Eugene Hunn	3,102.56	
Nora Rubinstein	2,403.47	

Project associates		
Bonnie Blair		1,669.45
Tom Carroll		1,830.97
Mal O'Connor		1,442.77
Media specialists		
Joseph Czarnecki		3,249.97
Computer consultant		3,173.00
Project co-planner (2 weeks at $640/week)	1,280.00 AFC	
2. AFC staff travel		
Carl Fleischhauer (4 trips)	511.50 AFC	
Mary Hufford (8 trips)	1,456.90AFC	
Alan Jabbour (2 trips)	296.51 AFC	
3. Equipment and supplies		
Office space (estimated: 9 weeks at $100/week)	900.00 DEP	
Office furniture (estimated)	350.00 DHR	
Phone		1,200.00
Supplies	300.00 AFC	
Photocopier		322.75
Computer equipment		6,930.00 ASO
Computer supplies		949.50 ASO
4. Documentation		
Color film and processing (270 rolls)		2,068.00
Black-and-white film and processing (239 rolls)		2,058.00
Reel audiotape (239 reels)		1,315.00
Cassette audiotape (76 cassettes)		115.00
5. Local Transportation		
Rental cars (5 vehicles for 12 weeks at approx. $500/car /month)		7,500.00
Gas		600.00
6. Lodging		
For 70 "people weeks"	5,200.00 DHS	
	1,800.00 DEP	
Domestic worker		394.23
7. Community Relations		
Business cards		55.00
Courtesy photographs		911.47
8. Product Development		
Project archive, partial (back-up computer diskettes, cassette copies of sound recordings, 1 set of contact sheets)		2,173.10
Reference archive, partial (cassette copies of sound recordings, 1 set of contact sheets)		878.00
Subtotal:	$26,374.41	$55,170.66
Total for Phase IIB:	**$81,545.07**	

C. **Long-term follow-up (14 weeks: January 3, 1984 – March 31, 1984)**

1. Personnel

Director (8 weeks at $640/week)	$5,120.00 AFC	
Administrative coordinator (14 weeks at $450/week)		$6,300.00
Systems manager and interim archivist (14 weeks at $450/week)		6,300.00
Media specialist Dennis McDonald		579.40
Project co-planner (3 weeks at $640/week)	1,920.00 AFC	
Subtotals:	$7,040.00	$13,179.40
Total for Phase IIC:	**$20,219.40**	

Subtotals for Phase II (all sections):	$37,554.05	$73,799.06
Total for Phase II (all sections):	**$111,353.11**	

Phase III: Product Development (April 1, 1984 – September 30, 1986)

(See attached summary of products for complete listing)

1. Personnel		
Project Director (30 weeks at $640/week)	$20,000.00 AFC	
Archival Consultants		
Carole Stern		4,080.00
Ann Dancy		4,400.00
Media Specialist		
Dennis McDonald	700.00	
Fieldworkers		
Malachi O'Connor	700.00	
Gerald Parsons (3 weeks at $640/week)	2,000.00 AFC	
Editors		
Sue Samuelson		500.00
James Hardin	500.00 LCPO	
Artists		
Jan Adkins		450.00
Allen Carroll		225.00
2. AFC Staff Travel		
Mary Hufford (7 trips)	1,253.00	
Gerald Parsons (1 trip)	123.00 AFC	
3. Documentation		
Color film and processing (15 rolls)		150.00
Black-and-white film and processing (15 rolls)		150.00
Reel audiotape (8 reels)		50.00
Cassette audiotape (12 cassettes)		20.00

4. **Products**

A. Archive materials

1. Project archive (computer diskettes, cassette copies of sound recordings, 1 set of contact sheets) 40.00

2. Reference archive (cassette copies of sound recordings, 1 set of contact sheets) 25.00

B. Exhibit: Tradition and the Environment in New Jersey's Pinelands, produced by the New Jersey State Museum, the New Jersey Historical Commission, and the New Jersey State Council on the Arts, and co-sponsored by the American Folklife Center 100,215.00 NJSM, NJSCA, NJHC 108,000.00 NEH

C. Publications (The production and research costs for these are subsumed under personnel above, with the exception of *Pinelands Folklife* and "Pinelands Sketches," which were largely paid for out of the exhibit budget. The Center's contributions to these are also subsumed under personnel.)

1. "Culture and the Cultivation of Nature in the Pinelands National Reserve," by Mary Hufford, and "The Origin of the Pineys" by David Cohen, in *Folklife Annual 85* edited by Alan Jabbour and James Hardin, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
2. "Pinelands Traditions" slide presentation and script by Mary Hufford, slides edited by Carl Fleischhauer.
3. *One Space, Many Places: Folklife and Land Use in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve*. Final Report and recommendations to the Pinelands Commission, by Mary Hufford.
4. *Cranberries*, a recipe booklet, compiled by Sue Samuelson.
5. *Essays on Pinelands Folklife: Special Issue of New Jersey Folklore*, edited by Sue Samuelson (forthcoming).
6. *Pinelands Folklife*, edited by Rita Moonsammy, David Cohen and Lorraine Williams, forthcoming from Rutgers University Press.
7. "Pinelands Sketches" videotapes of Pinelands traditional outdoorsmen and their occupations, co-produced by the New Jersey Historical Commission, the New Jersey State Council on the Arts, the New Jersey State Museum, and the American Folklife Center, with New Jersey Network Public Television.

Subtotals: 124,091.00 119,490.00

Total for Phase III: 243,581